

INSIDE: The struggles of Brian Mulroney

Maclean's

DECEMBER 5, 1983

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

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SPECIAL REPORT

TRUDEAU'S PEACE CRUSADE



The mission to Peking

**The rising fear of
a nuclear holocaust**

**From East to West:
A week of escalation**



Give Job.
It whispers.



COVER

Trudeau's peace crusade

In a week of menacing events, the Soviets walked out of disarmament talks in Geneva, the Germans voted to accept cruise missiles and Andropov threatened retaliation. The only glimmer of hope in the stalemate over nuclear weapons was Pierre Trudeau's dramatic voyage to China in search of agreement on his plan for peace.

—Page 35

COVER PHOTO: GUY CARANFORD/STAMP PHOTO



Grenada's divisive legacy

The U.S. invasion of Grenada prompted an angry debate in New Delhi, as black Commonwealth leaders feared that their nations could be next.

—Page 36



Uniting behind Mulroney

Brian Mulroney became Progressive Conservative leader last June. Now he firmly controls the party, and the Tories are eagerly waiting for the next election.

—Page 37



The launch of Spacelab

The sixth flight in the U.S. space shuttle program will involve the first use of the \$150-million European-designed research capsule Spacelab.

—Page 52

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The silent contract of love

Terms of Endearment, a richly evocative and moving account of the relationship between a mother and daughter, is one of the most memorable movies in years.

—Page 67

Who shall live?

As a registered nurse working in a critical care/trauma unit, may I comment you on the Nov. 21 story, *The 'sueury' culture*. I am all too familiar with the serious and troubling problems facing the medical profession today and I can attest that the decision to resuscitate or not is not a simple one. I think we as Canadians should be relieved and grateful that extreme caution and consideration of medical and paramedical staff is undertaken with the patient or the patient's family.

—PATRICIA BYER,
London, Ont.

As a person with a disability, I am both frightened and appalled by doctors who believe that not as determined through a system of economic triage who shall live and who shall die and who deserves medical treatment. All human beings, regardless of their disability, are valuable members of society. No one, be they doctors or parents, should be in a position to deny them the right to live. None of us can determine the value of another person's life.

—FERRY MCKINLAY,
Ottawa

The government's homework

I was very concerned about an article called *An explosive secret report* (Canada, Oct. 10). I take particular exception to the comment that singled out the department of agriculture for "its lack of research into the deterioration of the country's soil and water supplies. . . ." The deterioration of soil and water resources in Canada is a serious problem which must be faced. And facing it we are with what available resources we



Body in intensive care: troubling problem

have. Agriculture Canada spent more than \$250 million on research in 1982-83 and will spend more than \$20 million in 1983-84. The department has added significantly to its research capability in recent years with the addition of such facilities as the food research centre recently opened at St-Hyacinthe, Que. Two years ago the federal government revised its *Agri-food Strategy* to provide a framework for the agricultural future of this country. Included in the strategy was a section on human-oriented research which identified the need to study the increasing soil and water problems, particularly in the Prairies, and decided what can be done to overcome those problems. I think you can see that the federal government has done its homework and is squarely facing its responsibilities, particularly in the area of agricultural research.

—ROSEMARY WHELAN,
Minister of Agriculture,
Ottawa

A legal aid advocate

Your Nov. 21 Follow-up, *New joys for Justice Clerk*, shows the positive benefits that handicapped individuals can glean through the court system. However, this story and previous articles concerning Clerk's struggle leave readers with the impression that his lawyer, David Baker, was refused privately. Not so. Baker is the staff lawyer with a legal office that is funded by the Ontario Legal Aid Plan—the Advocacy Resource Centre for the Handicapped. It is one of 41 community legal clinics across Ontario providing services to segment the urban services offered by the plan, which assists about 500,000 people each year.

—JOSH BEATYOT,
Influencer Officer,
The Law Society of Upper Canada,
Toronto

PASSAGES

DEED: Graham Spey, 63, the father of Canadian broadcasting, of an apparent heart attack, in his Ottawa home (page 70).

FORGOTTEN: Nobel Prize-winning Roman Catholic missionary Mother Teresa, with Britain's Order of Merit for her work among the poor and the sick, in New Delhi, by Queen Elizabeth. The Ott is the highest award the Queen can bestow personally.

MARRIED: Mary Tyler Moore, 45, and cardiologist S. Robert Levine, 31, in a Jewish ceremony in New York City's Hotel Pierre. Moore was married for 18 years, until 1961, to Grant Tinker, now chief executive officer of NBC.

AWARDED: Permanent custody of Stephanie Ann Thatcher, 6, to her father, former Saskatchewan energy minister Colin Thatcher, by Chief Justice Mary Beaton of the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench, in Regina. The custody dispute began last January after Jeanne Wilson, Thatcher's ex-wife, was found shot to death in the garage of her home.

UPHELD: A complaint to the Canadian Human Rights Commission that Niagara Falls, Ont., Liberal MP Allan Rock, 58, had sexually harassed Kristina Potanichuk, 28, when she was his special assistant. Potanichuk and Rock had made advances to her on several occasions for more than a year. She declined, she said, and he fired her on April 15. In a separate decision last week, the commission upheld the first-ever complaint by a man of sexual harassment. H.C. sailor Douglas Hamman, a teenage deckhand, had complained this first mate Rodney McDonald had "repeatedly harassed" him and made sexual advances aboard a tugboat in 1981.

DEED: Michael Conrad, 58, the Emmy Award-winning actor who played the kindly, eloquent Sgt. Philip Froese from *Kataram* on NBC-TV's *Hill Street Blues*, of cancer, in a Los Angeles hospital. Conrad was especially known for his risqué early morning warning to the precinct's "officer." "Hey! Let's be careful out there!"

DEED: Leonard Whiterley, 65, author of the 1965 comic novel *The Mouse That Roared*, of a heart attack in Santa Monica, Calif. The most famous of his more than 100 books described a tiny European country that declared war on the United States, hoping to lose and so collect foreign aid. Peter Sellers starred in the 1959 movie version.

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The rights of a reviewer

Reviewers have every right in the world to dislike books. Magazines, however, rarely have some responsibility to ensure that reviews respect the same principles of accuracy and fairness that apply to news stories. In the case of Maclean's review of *Knights of the New Technology* by David Thomas (Ripoff Tech) as Rip Tech, Doug, Nov. 7), the reviewer's unkind assessment has caused him to distort the content of the book. By describing the author as "rabidly pro-business," is the reviewer undermining his own ideological commitment?

—ANNA FORDIS
President,
Key Porter Books,
Toronto

Suspended arithmetic

Your Follow-up piece on Christine Keeler, Mandy Rice-Davies and the so-called "Profumo affair" (Keeler reverses the tale, Nov. 14) ignores what appears to be a significant aspect of the story—that during the 22 years since the scandal, Rice-Davies apparently spent four of them in suspended animation. The article tells us that Rice-Davies was 20 in 1961 and that she "now, at 38, lives in Solihull, a prosperous suburb of her native Birmingham." It could, of course, be that time one cannot afford to move more slowly in prosperous Solihull. Or perhaps—though surely not—you simply cannot count. But whatever the reason, I think you should let us in on it.

—WILLIAM WATKINS
Toronto

Language and a people

In your Oct. 24 *Environment* article, A random symbol of the Arche debate, you say "128-foot Ulstered (that for size)" and later "Kadish (that for thunder)." Isn't it not a language, but a race. It means "the people" and in the plural form of Irish, one person. The language spoken by Irish is Gaeilge, which is the word that should have been used in both instances.

—WILLIAM FORDHAM
Ruler Lake, N.W.T.

Pricing a long-distance feeling

Your report on CNP Telecommunications' bid to deliver long-distance service was useful in beginning to bring an issue that could affect millions of Canadians to the attention of the public (A bid for that long-distance feeling, Business, Nov. 7). As in the United States, the changes taking place in Canada are being sponsored primarily by large business interests. And the big decisions are being made by the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). CNP has said that it will make some contribution to

support local rates. CNP has owned a national network of facilities for many years, and the telephone companies have been in competition with it in certain services. CNP is now proposing to use the resources of telephone companies to "conspire" with them in a profitable part of the business. CNP is not interested in serving remote and rural areas, where the cost of providing telephone service is high and the revenues are low. If the CRTC likes, ordinary Canadians will foot the bill. Others may be forced to abandon their phones.

—EUGENE KOPPOLA
Minister of Culture, Heritage and
Arts,
Province of Manitoba,
Winnipeg

Research and cancer's causes

The cover article concerning cancer (A promising attack on cancer, Oct. 31) is typical of all the research currently being performed by the profession, in that not one iota of attention is given to the part played by diet in the creation of disease. It appears that medical researchers deny that the human essentially is an envelope of skin with several entrance and exit orifices and, therefore, that abnormalities of cellular molecular structure and enzymatic function are directly related to the chemicals introduced into the body by our diet and the air we breathe.

—DR. CARL E. REITH,
Calgary

When will Maclean's give front-page coverage to the most known cause of cancer? I refer, of course, to smoking. Smoking is directly responsible for 30 per cent or more of all cancer deaths in Canada. Canadian women are currently experiencing an enormous epidemic of lung cancer which will result in more deaths than breast cancer by 1991. This epidemic, like that in men which began 35 years ago, is overwhelmingly attributable to cigarette smoking. We can start taking strong action against known causes of cancer now. Maclean's and other print media could help by refusing all tobacco advertising. I wonder how many readers noted that the Oct. 30 issue contained no tobacco advertising (in sharp contrast to previous issues). Could it be that your sponsors do not want the public to "see through" the glaucous cigarette ads by placing them too close to an article on cancer?

—DR. DONALD T. WIGLE
Health and Welfare Canada,
Ottawa

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to *Letters to the Editor*, Maclean's magazine, Mail Bag, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

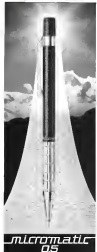
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FOLLOW-UP

A northern dream dies



Hamilton and family: Schefferville got a good break, but there is nothing here for us

On Nov. 2, 1982, Brian Mulroney, then president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada (IOCC), told the 3,500 residents of the remote northern Quebec town of Schefferville that his company was closing its open-pit mining operations there. The announcement was an especially severe blow to the townpeople because Iron Ore was Schefferville's only industry. Presiding over the death of a town in Mulroney's native province could have become a liability for his political aspirations. But the Schefferville disaster proved to be an opportunity for him to display his labor relations skills. Within weeks Mulroney announced a settlement package which even the union, the United Steelworkers of America, representing about 80 per cent of Iron Ore's 3,500 workers, hailed as generous. Mulroney went on to capture the leadership of the Progressive Conservative party last June but now the union is less enthusiastic about the Schefferville deal. As well, it complains that the company has provided nothing for roughly 1,500 other workers whom it laid off at its other two operations in northern Quebec and Labrador.

The Schefferville shutdown was part of a larger scaling down of IOCC's operations. IOCC, a U.S. firm that the powerful Cleveland-based Hanna Mining Co. controls, had laid off workers throughout the late 1970s. But the real crunch came in 1980, when a depression in world iron ore markets led the company to shut down Schefferville and embark on its series of major layoffs at mines in Labrador City, Nfld., and Sept-

Isle, Que. In the Schefferville case, 526 workers left their jobs with an average of \$9,000 in severance pay plus a special relocation allowance of as much as \$3,000, 75 per cent paid for by the federal and provincial governments and 25 per cent by the company. IOCC also offered to buy its workers' homes in Schefferville for the price of the owners' equity. But Lawrence Mulroney, area co-ordinator of the Steelworkers, says that about 76 of the 526 workers lost out entirely on severance pay—those who qualified for early retirement received only their pension.


Still, for the 1,500 laid-off workers in Sept-Isle and Labrador City, the Schefferville settlement appeared attractive. Because the company has laid them off—rather than terminate them as it did in Schefferville—these workers are not entitled to severance pay or mobility allowances, nor will the company buy their homes. The company even refused to offer compensation to the 600 workers in Sept-Isle whose layoffs resulted directly in the Schefferville shutdown. Instead, laid-off workers, according to seniority, have the right to first refusal for as many as three years. But that right offers workers little benefit unless the iron ore market turns dramatically around—a possibility that both the federal government and the company admit is remote. At the end of three years the company would terminate the workers without any benefits. The union is willing to surrender the workers' recall rights in exchange for the same severance package that the

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Schefferville workers got. But the company has refused.

For his part, Mulroney last month refused to discuss the plight of his former employees with Mulron's. Through a press spokesman, Mulroney pointed out that his role with the Iron Ore Co ended long ago and that he had nothing to add to what he had already said on the subject—that the Schefferville shutdown was the most generous corporate settlement in Canadian history. ICCC's spokesman, Brian Degross, said that the company will not extend the severance package to other Iron Ore workers because the union's negotiated contract does not require it.

The situation is most acute in Labrador City, where, starting in the spring of 1988, ICCC laid off approximately 900 unionized workers and 300 staff people of its 5,600 employees (Ileffie unionized workers, all laid-off non-unionized supervisory staff members receive full severance pay and mobility allowances of as much as \$4,000). ICCC created Labrador City, a blank space in the Labrador interior, in the late 1950s to provide labor for the mines. There are no roads linking it with the outside world—aircraft and the company-owned railway are the only ways in and out. Temperatures hover around -40° C for much of the long winter. Despite those hardships, workers flocked to the

city to take advantage of good wages—1985 pay averaged \$32,300 a year. The trade-off of their situation is more poignant because many of them were people who had been willing to face the hardships of the North in order to escape the poverty of postwar Newfoundland. "Outcast" Ernest Condon, a teacher at the local high school. "These were the success stories. These were the ones who had the initiative to move up here."

Many of the workers invested their earnings in property that has now lost its value. Clive Hamilton, 35, for one, bought an \$55,000 three-bedroom trailer and lived with his wife, Catherine, and three children in Labrador City's trailer park. Last January ICCC laid Hamilton off. After five years of service he received no severance pay. In July Hamilton had to declare personal bankruptcy and lost both his trailer and his van, and the \$52,300 he had spent on them. He and his family are now in Labrador City's public housing development. Said Hamilton: "Up in Schefferville those guys got a good break. But there is nothing for us."

Many of ICCC's laid-off employees are now faced with the prospect of alienating their trailers if they leave Labrador City because there is no cheap way to transport them to the south. Although the company originally brought

the trailers at no charge and sold them at reasonable prices to encourage workers to settle in the city, it now insists on charging to take each one out on its railway. Rayfield Sutton, one laid-off worker, estimates that it would cost him \$18,000 to move his \$38,000 trailer to St. John's.

Many people who bought homes in Labrador City have also suffered huge financial losses. Homes that they bought for more than \$50,000 several years ago are apparently worthless. Although the company subsidizes its employees' mortgage rates in excess of four per cent, many laid-off workers are now unable to keep up their payments. For some of them, that means abandoning their homes. But for 78 families whose mortgages are insured by the Mortgage Insurance Co. of Canada, the situation is worse. William Gilbert, a 48-year-old father of six, received a letter from MICO informing him that if he simply turned his house over to the bank, he would still have to pay the balance owing on his mortgage—some \$45,000. Said Gilbert: "I base a letter off to Mulroney. He is aware of the situation." Many of the 78 families still stand by their homes, but some, whose mortgages are insured by the bank, have to pay the balance owing on his mortgage—some \$45,000. Said Gilbert: "I base a letter off to Mulroney. He is aware of the situation." Many of the 78 families still stand by their homes, but some, whose mortgages are insured by the bank, have to pay the balance owing on his mortgage—some \$45,000. Said Gilbert: "I base a letter off to Mulroney. He is aware of the situation."

Mary Birmingham was one of the first people to discover how devastating that legal action can be. After 10 years at ICCC, the company laid her off last January. Unable to sell her \$38,000 house, she eventually turned it over to the bank, losing her \$38,000 equity. The mortgage insurance company said for the balance owing, and she had no choice but to declare personal bankruptcy. As a result, her only other asset—a 1977 Oldsmobile—was seized. Birmingham, 46, now lives with her parents in Petty Harbour, 300 km. Last month she received a notice in the mail from Iron Ore Co. of Canada advising her that if she did not pay the \$9,28 she owed the company for the electrical bill on her former house, ICCC would take her to court. Said Birmingham: "I think this was kind of low."

Much of the workers' bitterness springs from their belief that ICCC made millions of dollars in Northern Canada and also agreed to give the workers some kind of settlement. The company reported a record profit of \$106 million in 1981. And although it had a \$100-million operating loss last year plus a \$30-million writt-off loss on Schefferville, it has reported a \$3.3-million profit for the first three quarters of 1989. Because ICCC is a privately held company owned by Hanna, Murray and a number of large U.S. steel companies and firms controlled by Canadian financier Conrad Black, its financial picture is not available to the public. But, ICCC has said that from 1980 to 1982 it paid out \$225 million in dividends to stockholders, just before its major layoffs and Schefferville shutdown. When the large dividend payments became public several days after last November's shutdown announcement, Mulroney at first vigorously denied the press report. He later confirmed the figures and explained that they represented a small return on stockholders' investments over a 10-year period.

For his part, union leader McBrearty fears that future Hanna Mining investment is likely to go into the company's other holdings, such as Minnesota's Brainerd Resources, a Brazilian iron ore company in which it holds a 34-per-cent interest. Brainerd has higher-quality ore and cheaper labor rates, and it is rapidly supplying Canada in European iron ore markets, which means that from a business point of view ICCC may be prudent in cutting back its operations. But many of its Canadian workers feel bitter that after years with the company they are left in debt and surrounded in a remote Labrador town. Said McBrearty: "Mulroney did a good job for the shareholders. But he did not do such a good job for Canada."

—LINDA McQUINN in Labrador City.

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Diplomatic revelations

Since his retirement from the department of external affairs in 1973, Halifax-born Charles Ritchie, 77, has found a new career as a published author of witty and mildly lewded diaries. The Stern Years, chronicling his early diplomatic career between 1957 and 1965, appeared in 1976 and won the Governor General's Award for Non-Fiction. Two other volumes—An Appetite for Life (1977) and Diplomatic Passport (1981)—generated new admirers of Ritchie's elegant prose and dry self-mockery. A fourth volume, Stern Signals, has just appeared (Maclean's, Oct. 3), covering the years between 1962 and 1972 when Ritchie was Canadian ambassador in Washington, D.C., and high commissioner in London. Those were the years when events put the old connoisseur into diplomacy to the test. Maclean's correspondent Doug Fisher-ling spoke with Ritchie in Toronto.

Maclean's: Did the 1973 Iranian hostage-taking incident have an impact on embassy security?

Ritchie: Yes, but embassy security all

around the world has become so much more of a concern. Even before Iran, in the 1960s there were waves of demonstrators appearing before our embassies, protesting. For example, against our attitude toward seal hunting. There was also what has become the permanent threat of infiltration of the missions and, of course, terrorism. I sug-

'We grew accustomed to a conspiratorial world in which "bugs" are more than just stories in James Bond'

gest the situation came to a head in less than a year. After Iran the number of security guards did not triple or anything like that. It was more a question of increased awareness on our part. There had been an up of insecurity for people in Canadian embassies—they felt that they were on Canadian territory and

therefore nothing could happen to them and no one could bug the embassy. Now we have become more accustomed to a conspiratorial world in which such things are not just something you read about in James Bond. There has been an increase in the kidnapping of ambassadors, a most regrettable crime. I always used to wonder how much, if anything, my government would have really paid to buy me back?

Maclean's: What about changes in the diplomatic life caused by new technology?

Ritchie: Now, an ambassador in a post abroad is at the end of the telephone wire from his government at all times. He has foreign ministers and officials descending upon him for visits and yet he is always sort of tied to his headquarters. By contrast, in an earlier and perhaps far happier epoch he was more or less able to make his own mistakes. Once he had made a mistake, his government had to jing along with it. Of course, many such changes are a function of time. The bureaucracy of our government, including External Affairs, has grown so enormously that there is less chance now could be a generalist and fly by the seat of one's pants, as was possible to do in my time. The great embarrassment of administrative regulation is all probably essential to any very big business, but it sometimes



Ritchie: Now much, if anything, would my government have paid to buy me back?

gives you the feeling that it is all hairs and is bloody hard.

Maclean's: Is some of that change a result of the new emphasis on world trade?

Ritchie: There is a great desire, naturally, to assess our achievements of the foreign service in quantifiable terms, and it is important for us to do that. You

do not want to live in a sort of dream world, especially not in terms of trade, particularly since the 1983 marriage of External Affairs with Industry, Trade and Commerce. But when I see how easy it is for trouble to break out, I think that it would be a mistake to underestimate what you might call the foreign policy aspect. I say that not only from

the point of view of troubleshooting but from the point of view of Canada's long-term influence in the world. I still think it is essential to have people on the spot who, over a period of time, can assess where Canada's interests are involved and how they are reflected or deflected. Having that communication with the world is part of the role of any growing sovereign nation, and I would be sorry to see it downplayed because it is not easy to assess it in terms of figures.

Maclean's: The people for whom you worked early in your career were really the first generation of Canadian diplomats and the ones who set out to create a distinctly Canadian style. Did they succeed, and does their achievement endure?

Ritchie: In my lifetime we passed from a sort of motherly embrace by Britain to the fraternal embrace of the United States. It seems to me we have always been struggling to escape from one rather self-indulgent embrace or other. When I first joined the department of external affairs, I do not think it tried to evolve a radically different style from those of Britain or the United States, but at least it was a style that was more Canadian. In the beginning there was a great dislike for the diplomatic trappings of that stuff about "excellence" and precedence. But the

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diplomatic world is a very hard to break out of. Still, we did try to create a style that was not American and not an echo of the British Foreign Office.

Maclean's: *External Affairs does not follow the U.S. pattern of rewarding leaders and prominent businessmen friendly to the party in power by making them ambassadors. But, in the early days especially, were not the differences between the Canadian and the British diplomatic styles more subtle?*

Maclean's: The Canadian style was not British for many reasons. It was not British because we are not the same type of country as Britain—our country is based on accommodation, compromise and coexistence—and I think that is reflected, in some extent, in the manner in which we conduct our foreign policy. We are always quite good at finding a way to paper over the cracks because we live by papering over cracks ourselves, and I think that is positive. In international negotiation, that is a rather useful Canadian contribution. Characteristics of foreign policy are the mirror images of the country itself.

Maclean's: One often reads that Canada's role as a bridge,izer in international disputes has come to an end.

Maclean's: I would not say that, but I certainly think the pendulum has swung a long way in the other direction. There was a feeling that we had strayed too far from the maternal interests of Canada, that we were not pragmatic enough. At least that seems to have been the mood of the present government, as contrasted with that of the Pearson years. I sometimes feel that now the people of Canada do not have quite the same sense of involvement in their country's foreign policy that they had back then, that they feel more the spectators, although the Prime Minister's peace initiative appears to be a return to the Pearson period.

Maclean's: Your published diaries have sometimes seemed to be telling stories out of school, albeit about long-ago incidents. Do you feel you ever violated the spirit of the 20-year secrecy rule?

Maclean's: I do not know about the spirit, but certainly not the letter of the rule, since I have not put in any staff from any ambassadorial dispatches, which are moldering away at External Affairs. When I wrote the diaries, I stayed away from many topics, partly for security reasons and partly because I wanted to escape from precisely those negotiations that used to occupy me. So the diaries are not really a political memoir, although they are, of course, overshadowed by politics because politics is always just around the corner. ♦

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FOLLOW-UP

Legacy of a disaster

When torrential rains flooded houses and snowed drivers in the Welsh coal-mining village of Aberfan last month, residents duly noted the grim coincidence. Seventeen years earlier, on Oct. 21, 1966, heavy rains dislodged two million tons of coal waste from towering slag heaps above the town, setting off an avalanche that killed 144 people—111 of them children. Now, the winter downpours no longer threaten Aberfan and other

the villagers pay for out of the £176-million (£3.1 million) disaster fund that the villagers had raised through donations, which they planned to use for their children's education.

The Aberfan tragedy marked a turning point for coal-mining villages in all of Britain. Under legislation that Parliament passed in 1971, the coal board embarked on a 10-year, £60-million (£106 million) program to clean up all of the slag heaps in South Wales.



Aberfan residents search for bodies in 1966: the dead and the difference are buried

Welsh coal-mining villages. The National Coal Board has removed all of the black slag heaps in South Wales. Still, the memory of that fateful morning remains vivid for Aberfan residents, many of whom spent fully dressed for months because they feared that confining rains would cause new avalanches.

Aberfan's seven slag heaps were among the most precarious of the 367 colliery dumps in South Wales. Yet after the avalanche, the National Coal Board initially turned down the families' requests to remove the remaining six slag heaps. Finally, in the spring of 1967, exasperated villagers, after several unsuccessful deputations to Parliament, stormed government offices in Cardiff and poured bags of coal sludge onto the steps of the building. One week later cabinet directed the board to remove the remaining heaps at a cost of £804,000 (£1.6 million). £156,000 (£279,000) of which the board insured

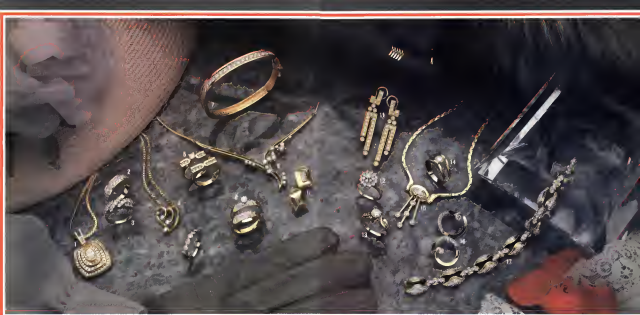
Slag then, workers have removed 48 million tons of waste and re-profiled or levelled remaining heaps for use as grazing land for sheep and cattle. The jet now limits the height of slag heaps, forbids dumping on steep slopes or near water and stipulates regular governmental inspections.

For its part, Aberfan now has an elaborate £250,000 (£420,000) drainage system that the National Coal Board built as a matter of priority following the tragedy to cope with the seasonal rains. Despite that prevention, October's flood proved that the system is far from adequate. Still, on Oct. 21, as villagers braved the storm to attend the annual church service commemorating the fatal avalanche, they had clearly buried much of their bitterness. Replied one villager: "You cannot live below mountains and expect good weather, now can you?"

—PETER CHICKENSON
in Aberfan



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DATELINE: FRANCE

A new sexual battlefield



French socialist billboard: nakedness sells diesel engines and government bonds

When French President François Mitterrand announced an anti-fascist law on International Women's Day last March 8, he set out to win over the 50 per cent of French voters who are female. But when Women's Rights Minister Yvette Rostaing unveiled the details the next day, she found outrage from an unexpected quarter—the industry's gobet advertising industry. Since then, advertising spokesmen have protested the law in a media campaign that has occasionally bordered on hysteria. In the process, their many counterattacks have turned the spotlight on France's obsession with using elaborately bare publicists to sell everything from diesel engines to government bonds. What is more, their attack on the government may have been counterproductive. Ready to now contemplating a specific new set of controls on the advertising industry—an industry with which the feminists originally had no quarrel.

Pressure for an anti-fascist law began in 1972 when then President Georges Pompidou introduced a law against racism. Feminists promptly demanded a similar weapon under law to challenge the lurid provocations of bondage magazines and such columnists as Jean Cocteau, of the internationally syndicated photographer magazine *Paris Match*, who found a with-boiling trial at one time for his part in a scandal, a group called *Les Femmes Ritrans* had occupied Paris Match's offices to protest but it found itself helpless to do more. A year later, when Cocteau dismissed all women

lawyers as susceptible to unprofessionalism after police had charged one of them as an accessory to her client's prison break, the female members of the Paris bar decided that a formal protest was not enough. They lobbied for legal reform. And Mireille Segretan-Maurin, an aide to Rostaing who drafted the current bill. "We were originally among the press. We did not anticipate that outcry from advertising at all."

Sensitive to the law's mention of the female "image," the admen leaped to their own defense before noting that they were not under attack. *Editeurs* in the advertising weekly *Stratégies* described the anti-fascist law as "censorship" and warned that it opened the way for a witch-hunt. The industry envisioned a campaign of counterattacks under spokesman Christian Ferry, who seemed doubly safe from charges of sexism against women because she was best known for having created a skin-tight ad that showed a bare-chested Adonis preening his own shirt. The caption read: "We all want one like that in the house."

Ferry charged that the bill was "a real threat to the freedom of expression and creativity" in France. But others were less concerned. Jean-François Puy, the master of a controversial jeans ad showing a topless female model tied up with thick rope, claimed that the whole question had arisen because feminists "are terrified, if at all in their sexuality." When Jeanine Segretan, whose agency was impossible for or-

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months of solicits, a longer one longer anything left." Feminists found that advertising agencies were hiring grossly endowed models to wear tight, see-through T-shirts to sell not only Telefunken TV sets and accounts at the Banque Paribas but the latest issue of an eight-year French government bond offering 166-per-cent interest.

Campaigns with sleazebag overtones proved even more offensive than exposed flesh. One controversial lingerie billboard portrayed a chic beauty, in the briefest of lace, with a man's hand grasping her inner thigh. The blue jeans ad featuring a bare-breasted model tied up with rope under the caption "I have got you under my skin" offended even more feminists. But a poll showed that the jeans ad had succeeded in increasing demand for the product by 40 per cent, and the manufacturer soon took out a sequel, featuring the topless woman handcuffed and thrown down on the ground. As *Sinusque* asserted in a defiant front-page editorial in the spring, "The figures prove that one must leave women free to dress themselves as they please as the victims of seduction—in any case seductive—as long as it is not fatal."

Indeed, other media surveys showed that a majority of women liked the ads. Paula Foudlet, the editor in chief of the new women's monthly *Belle*, is typical of them. She shrugged off the blue jeans bandage ad. "The model has a lovely bottom, and that is what we admire," she said. "What does it matter that she is tied up?" But the ministry of women's rights was unimpressed by the testimony. Rod Segretain-Messier "is just always to what degree women are oppressed."

After months of reassuring the advertising community's representatives of how defunct it would have been to pressure them under the proposed law, Roddy has now decided that it was best to re-shift the bill to give feminists more weapons against women's image in advertising. That proposal, which was scheduled to go before the National Assembly this fall, is now delayed until spring. At that time, Roddy's ministry is expected to present an expanded and rewritten bill.

To some men, that may seem less a case of hindsight than revenge. That to Segretain-Messier, it is not an act of vengeance. Explained the minister's aide, "But it is a bit ironic, because we would not have thought of doing it if the advertising world had not drawn our attention to the problem with all its noise." With the prospect that the ad men may really have something to learn about this time, France is now bracing itself for another round in the battle between the sexes.

—NANCY McDONALD in Paris



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FOLLOW-UP

Joan Baez's comeback

Joan Baez's fans considered her the perfect icon of the 1960s, the perfect voice. When many Americans were clamoring for an end to the Vietnam War and for civil rights for blacks, Joan Baez and Bob Dylan were the musical spokesmen of the movement. Now, Dylan, 42, who spent much of the 1970s immersed in beer-swilling Christianity, is rediscovering his Jewish roots and studying the ultra-orthodox Hasidic teachings. For Baez, now 42, the times have also changed.

Although she is back on the concert circuit, North American audiences want to hear her old songs, seeking to preserve fond memories of a reformed soprano who sang about freedom. Her last hit, *Diamonds and Rust*, was in 1975. She remains one of North America's most enduring concert draws, but record companies will not sign her. For her part, Baez admits that her folksy, and mostly prosaic, songs are not the kind of music that sells in the 1980s. She remains so committed to the ideas of pacifism, resistance and human dignity as she was in the days when she walked arm-in-arm with Martin Luther King through the streets of Mississippi. In 1979 she began a three-year break in her singing career to devote time to her own San Francisco-based human rights think tank, Humanitas International, for which she nets about 80 per cent of her earnings.

Onstage, Baez, backed by a quartet, indulges her audience with such familiar hits as *For Me and My Acoustic*. She has acquired a dancing sense of humor. Explains Baez: "Back in the 1960s I was afraid that if I was funny, people would not think I was serious." Her new songs are part political, part middle-age angst, dealing with lost relationships, her 1971 divorce from war resister David Harris and the trials of single parenthood. Her 18-year-old son, Gabriel, is in an East Coast boarding school.

Baez's observations are not so much naive as quaint. She tells her audience that being nonviolent warriors means being "tender as a lamb and tough as granite" and that she hopes one day "we will all be singing and walking and fighting justice together again." Indeed, that day may come. But when it does, there will no doubt be a new Madonna of the 1980s. It will not be Joan Baez—the belongs to an era long past.

—JANE O'HARA in Vancouver



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Q&A: GERARD PELLETIER

Novel candor at the UN

Gerard Pelletier, 65, first achieved major national recognition as one of the "Vieux sages" when Prime Minister Lester Pearson recruited him to bolster Liberal support in Quebec during the 1962 election. (Laupier and commentator Pierre Elliott Trudeau and trade unionist Jean Marchand were the other two.) At the time, Pelletier was a well-known journalist who had been editor of the Montreal daily *La Presse*. After Trudeau's accession to prime minister in 1968, his longtime friend

first became secretary of state, presiding over the government's bilingualism and binational programs, and later was minister of communications (1970-1975). As ambassador to France from 1975 to 1981, he helped shape Canada's policy toward the difficult period following the election of René Levesque's separatist government in Quebec. In 1981 Pelletier became Canada's ambassador to the United Nations. Maclean's correspondent Gregory Winkler recently interviewed Pelletier in his office at the UN Plaza in New York.

Maclean's: This is your second year as ambassador to the United Nations. Has your attitude toward the UN changed during that time?

Pelletier: Yes and no. The classic diplomats who come here after being, say, in Indonesia, London and Moscow feel terribly frustrated. I had my frustrations in the Canadian Parliament, and they are the same here. Feeling that you are wasting your time, that you are listening to speeches that are not related to the subject, there is much of that here. About a year ago Kenneth Adelman, then the deputy U.S. ambassador to the UN, wrote an article entitled "UN General Assembly: 40 Million Wasted Words a Year." If Ken had ever been to know Congress, he would have realized that it is the same there. Any parliament—it is on the nature of the beast—wastes a hell of a lot of words, and since the U.S. Congress sits year-

round, compared to the United Nations 2½ months, Congress must waste billions of words.

Maclean's: What do you think the UN does best?

Pelletier: For a clean package of achievement, it is in the field of international law. There were fewer than 40 multilateral treaties before the UN was organized. Now, more than 375 are in force, which is really an accomplishment when you think of the amount of negotiation and compromise involved. The treaty covers a whole range of questions, from environmental to the status of women. In international telecommunications, for instance, without the treaties we could not operate the satellites and new means of telecommunications that have become part of our life without our ratifying it. The Law of the Sea was the last important piece of international law. Even so it was being negotiated, it was being implemented. The 200-mile economic zone has been applied for more than 10 years, yet the Law of the Sea convention ended only last spring.

Maclean's: With the Americans eventually signing the Law of the Sea treaty?

Pelletier: I do not see how they could remain aloof. It is in their own interest to sign it. It is signed down to the question of seabed

mining, but I am sure they will come to realize that this cannot be treated as it was before. It is difficult for reasonable men at the end of the 20th century to imagine that they will place plastic pots at the bottom of the sea and say, "This is U.S. territory." It has to be the common heritage of humanity. But it is a departure from a tradition that is very deeply rooted in the feelings of all of the great powers.

Maclean's: What are your impressions of Jeanne Kirkpatrick, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations?

Pelletier: Very pleasant and capable but an academic. It is wearing off a bit now, but at the beginning she was always



Pelletier: many frustrations

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talking down to people, as if she were talking to students. Yet recently she seems to have realized the importance of the US, with all its faults. She has been quite tough at some points. But I can also understand the United States' toughness, because American-banking is a popular sport at the US.

Maclean's: Do current East-West tensions affect the US?

Pattison: Britain's Lord Carrington coined a nice phrase about the current tensions. "Hugobone Diplomacy," he called it—they are shouting at each other. I must confess that it does create a contagion at the UN. That was why we welcomed [Indian Prime Minister Indira] Gandhi's September initiative to call some world leaders to the United Nations. It did not have as important a result as she had hoped, but about 80 heads of government talked to each other. It certainly improved the atmosphere at the beginning of the assembly this year. As in any parliament, the atmosphere is very important. When it goes sour, nothing gets done. This is the only place in the world where you could gather two dozen heads of government with so little preparation—and that says something.

Maclean's: What are your plans for the future?

Pattison: I will be hit by the age limit next June and I will probably retire. My new book, *The Years of Impatience*, was just released. [The English version should be released in February.] It is about the 1950s in Quebec. Then, I was very close to Jean Marchand, Pierre Trudeau and René Lévesque, and I got irritated by all the silly stories about what happened at that time. It is mostly needlettone opposition along such lines as politics and culture—the cultural revolution, which television caused, for example. Boringly detailed in Quebec were spiritism, art, but I changed in Canada as well. My conclusion is that what we call the Quiet Revolution, which took place at the beginning of the 1960s, was really over when it began. The play was ineptly written, and the actors had only to jump onstage and perform—and that is what happened. But, to be sure, the 1950s were the really important years.

Maclean's: Do you feel optimistic about Canada's future?

Pattison: Yes. Yet I am impatient because things never seem to happen fast enough. But I have lived through that in my youth and I have learned that my militancy reveals things from our own eyes. You tend to say that certain things are not important, that we are after much bigger stakes and we are not getting there. But the progress really has been quite dramatic in my lifetime. So basically I am optimistic. ☺



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How Canadians mistreat heroes

By Charles Gordon

After the first few days of it, those Canadians who are paid to know began to say the strangest things about Prime Minister Trudeau's peace mission. Seeing microphones or typewriter, they would look significantly over the shoulder and whisper, "I think he's a success."

The pronouncement was delivered as scoop, as revelation, as hot tip. "I don't think he's doing it to win the next election." It was delivered in heated tones, as if the deliverer was aware it would be met by bursts of disbelief. "I think he really went to world peace."

Now, you can sit down with a piece of paper and list reasons why many Canadians might be inclined to question the Prime Minister's motives. But the fact is that many Canadians, too many Canadians, will question anybody's motives.

Canadians are like that. Despite the fact that foreign policy has always ranked right up there with prison reform as the hot political property, now Canadians a prime minister who is off in search of world peace and they say, "What's the catch? What's in it for him?"

Canadians used to be great paddlers and great hockey players. Now they are great doubters. It is a national trait. It is a fact that if Christ came back tomorrow, some Canadians would suspect Him of doing it for the endorsements.

Few Canadian heroes have survived long as such. It takes time to write history books. By the time they are written, heroes have suffered fabled reversals, helped along by generations of doubters. By the time your kids read about a hero, he doesn't measure to much. This is why Canadian heroes are hard to find—not because they weren't there in the first place but because we won't allow their reputations to survive.

Historians agree that the only ones to suffer this in a nation of knucklers, a nation uncomfortable with celebrity. Their celebrity enough to become famous know the process doesn't last long.

Within the past year the attempt has been made to fit a number of Canadian names with first of day. Bobby Orr, once everybody's favorite hockey player, was portrayed in a Canadian magazine as unhappy and—worse—reluctant to be interviewed. F.R. Scott, as advo-

cate in this country's political and literary life for the past 60 years, was, as poet laureate, dismissed out of step with Quebec. Alex Colville had a major exhibition in Toronto, which became the occasion for local critics to say he wasn't all that great after all.

The hot goes on. The more successful you are in your chosen field, the more likely you are to be let down.

Ker. Taylor? Well, didn't he maybe enjoy being a celebrity a bit too much?

Pierre Berton? A populariser.

The Toronto Star Just? Just looky. We'll see you.

The Globe? How do they get all that publicity anyway?

The CBC? Not much. The Journal is just a cheap imitation of CBC's *Not Much*.

Trudeau is inextricably, Trudeau is a shik, Trudeau is a shik. Trudeau's a shik. Joe Clark? Say no more.

Great Political? Fails.

If Christ came back tomorrow, some Canadians would suspect Him of doing it for the endorsements'

Ed Schreyer? Still.

Also Ottawa is boring. Toronto is pretentious. Calgary is Greedy City. Winnipeg is Hikeville. And Quebec City isn't what it used to be.

Karen Kane? Well, we're tired of Margaret Atwood and Karen Kane.

Leaders whisper these things in your ear. This being a small country, everybody's an insider. Everybody knows who knows who. How famous some people really is. And, failing that, virtue can be its own punishment, as in "Wagner Gritsky? He's just... well, he's just too perfect."

It is not an exaggeration to say that some Canadians did this way. They are made uncomfortable by a guy who not only leads the National Hockey League in everything, not only avoids fights and penalties, not only scores but sets up his teammates—not only does all that but is generous in interviews and seems to be a nice person. Don't you just hate a guy like that?

It's possible that you do. But not for long. Even if being perfect does in the same column, Canadians allow people

to be perfect only briefly. Soon there is something else to knock them for being overrated. Like Colville, like the Montreal Expos, like their silver-anniversary year. Like the Edmonton Oilers. Canadians said the Oilers were overrated years. At last, this year they proved it.

The war years are made in this country. The war years are made in this state of being overrated is attained. An Anne Murray, an April Wine, a Dave Bush into all the magazine covers and all the television public affairs shows at the same time, not to mention the local newspaper's weekly celebrity table. Pretty soon the legends are gone. "Boy," they say, "Dave Bush was getting a lot of publicity, eh?"

"Yeah," comes the reply. "It's overrated."

Not all Canadians are overrated, yet. Those who aren't are under-rated. The proof is which people become famous in this country is not widely understood, but it is not hard to see that there are many Canadians who are not as famous as they deserve to be. Almost any Canadian just mentioned in this column. So do many celebrities who are not named. Margaret, actors who do not go to the United States, university athletes, scientists, some that not all academics and, not in the province, away from the media, writers, artists, musicians, politicians, you name it.

Some of these people will remain minor figures for the rest of their lives, while their fellow countrymen celebrate lesser talents, many of them known across the border, and our screens. Others will escape and find higher ground, probably across that same border.

Then, and only then, will they come to be appreciated in their native land—at least until they use, inevitably, prize-winning overrated.

Notably paid such attention to Margaret Atwood when she was a Canadian actress working in Canada. Then she went west, eventually to star as Lois Lane in the Superman movies. When Canadians realized that the Americans thought she was a star, they decided that she might as well be one here too. Here's how that one ends:

"Margot Kidder? All she can do is play Lois Lane."

In such a way do Canadians immolate themselves against the disease of envy.

Charles Gordon is a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen.



Trudeau's peace crusade

By Robert Miller

For blessed are the peacemakers on earth.
—Henry VI, Part Two

Suddenly, if belatedly, the nuclear menace had become everybody's nightmare, and millions of ordinary people prayed and hoped that the few peace-makers of the earth would succeed in a fast-moving series of related developments in Europe, Asia and North America, the human race seemed to have another step closer to oblivion last week as the menacing East-West confrontation grew worse. Government leaders one or more steps removed from the twin summits of nuclear power in Washington and Moscow faced increasing public pressure to do something, almost anything, to help reduce international tensions and enable the world to retreat from the nuclear brink.

One such leader was Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who for more than a month has conducted a personal crusade for peace and who has made it clear that hand-wringing and diplomatic expressions of concern will no longer appease the worried masses. Said Trudeau in New Delhi, where he attended part of the Commonwealth Conference in search of maximum support for his much-travelled five-point peace plan: "To say 'No' to annihilation is not sufficient to make statements of us. We must also provide the alternative."

Indeed, then, Trudeau decided to break away from the Commonwealth talks (page 28) for meetings early this week with Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang in Peking. Trudeau planned to return to New Delhi to report to his Indian counterpart, Indira Gandhi. In Ottawa, U.S. Ambassador Paul Robeson, a staunch Ronald Reagan loyalist, pressed the Trudeau initiative and suggested that the Prime Minister should also visit Moscow.

The new respectability surrounding the Canadian leader's plan was the most encouraging note in an otherwise disturbing series of developments last week. In rapid order the West German parliament voted to accept 108 medium-range Pershing II missiles as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's European nuclear pact; the Americans began shipping Pershing II components to Germany for almost immediate de-



Photo by AP/Wide World

ployment, and the Soviets broke off official medium-range missile negotiations in Geneva, charging that the Germans were "nuclear warmers" and blaming the Americans for "wrecking the talks." For his part, President Reagan expressed disappointment but not surprise at the Soviet walkout and took off for a U.S. Thanksgiving holiday in California, and, most ominously, Soviet President Yuri Andropov, who has not been seen in public since Aug. 10, issued a tough written statement vowing to retaliate for the installation of the Pershings by increasing the number of submarine-based nuclear missiles aimed at U.S. targets.

Annihilation: In his pilgrimage for peace, Trudeau had not chosen an easy path or a simple objective. For almost four decades, ever since the bomb made its initial and horrifying appearance in the 1945 U.S. attack on Hiroshima, statesmen have been pursuing alternatives to annihilation while the world's population has tried to adjust to living under an increasingly shaky balance of terror. As the seeds were sown even in 1945, the statesman's pursuit took on new urgency while citizens (and voters) stepped up their clamor for a new and less nerve-racking means of deterrence for all mankind. Said Robert M. Loefer, co-chairman of a nonpartisan Toronto-based committee of students and businessmen who support Trudeau's initiative: "For the first time in history, little children—my grandchildren—accept and even discuss the likelihood that they will not live their peaceful life-span. Because of the bomb. Well, we have to do something. It's just not acceptable."

The bomb. The word itself commands respect—and with gut-wrenching reason. This bomb has become universal shorthand for the vast and growing arsenal of nuclear weapons that mankind has built in the somewhat tarnished name of security. Today's nuclear stockpile, a mind-boggling array of missiles and bombs that sit silent and deadly on their various launching pads, most of them under the control of the implacably opposed and pragmatically pragmatic United States and Soviet Union, is big enough to snuff out life on earth—not lives, but life. Scientists, statesmen, even soldiers agree: the forests of the forest, the flocks of the field are as threatened as man himself by the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe unleashed by madness or mischance.

Worldwide, a growing and angry awareness that dominating forces far too large have made the bomb, at best, the central issue of the international community. The control of nuclear weapons

Trudeau in Delhi and Pershing II exposures of concerns are not enough





Peace demonstration in Bonn; arrests in Garmisch protesting against the NATO club and its deployment of the Pershing II

COVER/SPECIAL REPORT

and the related question of how to curb the staggering and, to many, elusive \$500-billion-a-year global arms race have mushroomed into the most urgent challenge confronting government leaders. It is a challenge filled with moral, social and, in the democracies at least, political implications. It is also a challenge that Trudella seized, if he has not yet unraveled it to the ground. The Prime Minister began his crusade in late October and persevered despite early criticism from his allies abroad and hardy convinced skeptics from his political opponents at home. Opponents of Parliament from both the Progressive Conservative and New Democratic parties publicly worked him well, but privately, and perhaps unfairly, complained that he was grandstanding in a desperate 1984-hike electoral ploy (page 58).

Apart, in New Delhi, Trudella and a clutch of Canadian diplomats lobbied hard among the other 41 Commonwealth heads of government and their representatives, seeking support for the Prime Minister's tests. In contrast to the polite but reserved reception Trudella encountered in Western European capitals in mid-November, he was encouraged by the reactions in New Delhi. There were early signs that Trudella's proposal, aimed at breaking the U.S.-Soviet nuclear stalemate and

moving the world back from the abyss, had made a favorable impact on the conference. Moscow leader Leonid Brezhnev the honor of speaking first as the closed-door session on East-West tensions began, and even Brezhnev's Iron Lady, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, seemed to acknowledge Trudella's efforts in her opening remarks. Said Thatcher: "There is a need today to fewer tensions and remove misunderstandings. Increased contact does not at all guarantee results, much less quick results, but it can ward off the worst dangers, and for that reason alone is worth pursuing."

Two strong possibilities emerged first, that other Commonwealth leaders might accompany Trudella on some future legs of his pilgrimage (possibly to Washington and Moscow), and second, that the conference itself this week might endorse the Prime Minister's initiative in its official closing communiqué, although stopping short—as protocol requires—of mentioning Trudella by name. Said one senior Canadian official: "The consensus is a bit stronger than I had expected."

If that is the case, perhaps the consensus was forged by the disingenuous news from abroad. As Queen Elizabeth II, the prime ministers and the presidents assembled in the teeming Indian capital, the bulletins from the world's nuclear fronts were unrelenting. In Europe there was a mixture of danger and calm. The broad-based European

peace and disarmament movement named almost exhausted from more than a year of nonstop protest demonstrations that failed to have any visible impact on Western nuclear policy. In Bonn, after 6,000 police tossed water cannons and tear gas on an estimated 3,000 demonstrators, turning a few and arresting nearly 500 inside the Bundestag during the Pershing II debate, the peace movement seemed uncertain what it ought to do next. Almost halfheartedly, organizers announced that a demonstration would be held Dec. 12 to mark the fourth anniversary of NATO's decision to station new missiles in Europe, but it was unable to attract a voice. Said a spokesman and that the demonstration would be "measured but not muted."

Demonstrations: Some European observers feared that a mood of hopelessness over the nuclear issue would lead radical elements to undertake desperate and violent action, perhaps sabotaging missile sites or attacking road convoys carrying nuclear weapons. In the Netherlands, where a half-million civilians, including 40-year-old Princess Beatrix, gathered on Oct. 29 against the impending arrival of 48 U.S.-made cruise missiles, the only gesture planned was a Christmas march at Wassendrecht, where the missiles will be deployed.

NATO and the Warsaw Pact, on the other hand, continued their machine chase. Less than 24 hours after the

West German parliament voted on strict party lines to accept the U.S. missiles, U.S. aircraft began flying Pershing II into the country. In the end, NATO continued exactly on the schedule laid down in 1978, when it decided to deploy 675 single-warhead Pershing II and cruise missiles starting this month. At the same time, NATO invited the Soviets four years ago to negotiate the entire question of medium-range missiles in Europe, including the Soviet Union's triple-warhead SS-20 rockets. Two years after the talks on Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) got under way in Geneva, their collapse led to Andrej's tough announcement in which he warned of "a real danger that the United States will bring catastrophe upon the people of Europe." Andrej vowed to resume deployment of SS-20s, frozen since 1982, to accelerate preparations for the installation of new Soviet missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, and to expand the number of on-based nuclear weapons stored at U.S. targets.

Deployment. The Soviets encountered muted opposition in at least one Warsaw Pact ally: Czechoslovakia. Official in Prague began organizing a media campaign and demonstrations to mobilize support for new missiles, but unofficial Czech sources reported growing public unease, especially in Prague. Perhaps aware of citizens' concern, Czech police issued a warning to demonstrators that any public statement

concerning the deployment of Soviet missiles could bring 15 years in jail. In Ann, in addition to the Commonwealth Conference's preoccupation with the nuclear issue and the arms race, there was new expression of concern, particularly by Tokyo and Peking. Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and Chinese Communist Party General Secretary Hu Yaobang seemed to endorse the Trudella initiative in a joint statement of midweek, shortly after the begin an eight-day official visit to Japan, the first by a top-ranking Chinese party official since 1964. Nakasone announced that they had agreed to support calls "made by others" for peace in Asia and throughout the world. Trudella met privately with Nakasone while en route to New Delhi, and he asked the Japanese premier to brief the Chinese official on the five-point plan.

In North America, allies of U.S. and Canadian television viewers were still recovering from the shock waves triggered by a grim film about a risk of hydrogen bombs on the United States. The film, entitled *The Day After*, attracted huge audiences for ABC-TV, generated countless panel discussions and informal debates and rekindled in an already skeptical public demand that world political leaders begin taking steps to forestall a nuclear slide toward nuclear disaster (page 30).

With his pilgrimage partly completed and support for his plan already

growing, Trudella was one leader who could say he was trying. While the Prime Minister was in Tokyo, he had an uncheduled 14-hour meeting with George Abetson, the head of Moscow's Institute of the U.S.A. and Canada, one of the Embassy's most senior advisers on foreign policy and also a personal associate of Andrej's. According to Trudella, Abetson "had not come to Tokyo with any special message for me. He just heard it was in town and made himself available for a meeting." The Prime Minister added, "He [Abetson] was somewhat pessimistic about the state of East-West relations and he did not seem to entertain great hopes that I would be able to convince the United States to be, in his words, more reasonable."

Commonwealth: Still, Moscow was cautious enough about the Trudella initiative to agree to see a Canadian embassy to discuss it. So was the government in Peking. Shortly before he first took his crusade to Europe, in early November, Trudella went privately to both Andrej and the Chinese, offering to dispatch a representative. Both Commonwealth capitals agreed, although neither gave any commitment. Trudella chose Geoffrey Patterson, one of the late prime minister, Lester B. Pearson, and, well three months ago, the ambassador to the Kremlin, to lead a two-man delegation to Peking and then Moscow. Traveling with Patterson was Gerry Smith,



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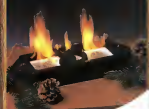


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An External Affairs staffer who was a member of the special task force that Trudeau established in early October to help prepare the initiative.

Pearson and Smith flew from Tokyo to Peking on Sunday, Nov. 20. They began formal talks Monday morning at the Diao Yu Tai government guesthouse, a tranquil compound set on an artificial lake (the compound's name translates literally as "Fishing Pier," and it once served as quarters for visiting President Richard Nixon). In a 2½-hour meeting with Assistant Foreign Minister Zhu Qizhen, Pearson outlined Trudeau's proposals and answered Zhu's questions. Then, after lunch the Canadians had an hour-long

meeting with China's foreign minister, Wu Xueqian, at Wu's downtown office, where the agreement for Trudeau's visit was reached. Pearson and Smith had no time for formal banquets or any of the other pomp that normally goes on at official visits to Peking, and they left for Moscow Tuesday morning.

Weapons: The Chinese alerted only two sentences in their official newspaper to the Canadian diplomat's visit, and Peking has issued no formal reply to Trudeau's proposals. But a Western columnist in Peking told Macdonald's "China File" column: "The Chinese are in the comfortable position of supporting all the standard calls for world peace without having to do a thing to reduce their weapons arsenal."

Some analysts view this as some advice by the United States and the Soviet Union. "As for whether the Chinese would be willing to sit down with the other four nuclear powers, as Trudeau has proposed, the official adds, 'The Chinese wouldn't jump in until they find out that Britain and France were going to do so.'"

When Pearson and Smith arrived in Moscow, their timing was welcomed. Andropov's statement was released almost at their plane's landing. Pearson, who has spent the last three years in the Soviet Union, had a two-hour morning meeting Friday with foreign ministry officials, then spent an hour in the afternoon with Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. There was no comment by either side, but sources said it was probable that the subject of a link

by Trudeau between Pearson and Smith would be discussed Tuesday in Peking on Sunday.

From the beginning, Trudeau's crusade has been a curious mixture of public and private activity which sometimes appeared to be out of synchronization. Trudeau first declared that he was willing to play a role in the stalemate during a heavily promoted but scarcely phrased speech on Oct. 27 at the University of Guelph. He then presented some specific proposals, and he scheduled a whirlwind tour of Western European capitals (Paris, Bonn, Rome, Brussels, The Hague and London). He completed the tour on Nov. 11, but it was not until Nov. 13, in a speech to a partisan Montreal Liberal gathering,

per reaction in the nuclear age. Privately, his assistant members at his own office, the external affairs and defense departments and a handful of outside experts to suggest potentially useful ideas that he and Canada might play.

Parade: A Liberal party gathering of cabinet ministers and news aides agreed, during a weekend thank-you session at Val d'Or, Que., early in September, that the Canadian public was worried about the nuclear question and that definitive political progress for peace was being held. In mid-September External Affairs Minister Allan Rock had ordered his senior bureaucrats to develop some new initiatives. At the end of the month the Prime Minister convened a meeting at a government re-

with a three-page letter, which has yet to be released but that was understood to have been generally supportive of Trudeau's overall objective and to contain a suggestion that Trudeau and the president meet face-to-face soon. White House sources added that the two men should meet on the sidelines of the summit.

But there was little doubt that the U.S. state and defense departments were less than enthused with what some officials felt was a forced, misguided plan, however well intentioned. Some U.S. officials made it clear that they thought it improper for an ally to try to pressure Reagan into dealing with the Soviet Union in ways he might prefer to refuse.

In the weeks since Trudeau launched Western Europe, where he made little media impact, there has been a continuing trickle of reaction and explanation. A French foreign office aide told Macdonald's last week that President François Mitterrand was upset by what the Quai d'Orsay described as the vagueness of the Canadian plan. The aide added that there were further wranglings because France felt that Trudeau had chosen the wrong moment to thrust himself into the ongoing nuclear debate, because of the possibility that the Soviets might see Trudeau's crusade as a means of sowing discord within NATO. But other government sources said that the real issue of French unhappiness might be traced to a piece that Mitterrand himself had drawn up but not yet revealed. Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl met in Bonn last week but one of their regular twice-weekly consultations, and French spokesmen said that Mitterrand discussed an "inflexible" to break the superpower stalemate deadlock. It seemed doubtful that Mitterrand was talking about the Trudeau initiative.

Superpowers: Still, some Europeans were pleased with the Trudeau plan. Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, who will host the opening session of the 30-nation European Security Conference in Stockholm in January, had lunch with Trudeau in New York on Sept. 30, when they discussed the nuclear issue. Palme strongly supports the Trudeau proposals and shares Trudeau's view that it is time to begin a real process of disarmament. As well, former West German chancellor Willy Brandt said last week that the Trudeau plan had his full support. "It reflects my view," Brandt said, "that the situation has become too serious to be left to the superpowers."

The superpowers' recent behavior indicated clearly that some form of cooling off is essential. Relations between Moscow and Washington have almost collapsed since the days of detente

begin under Richard Nixon and the late Soviet chairman Leonid Brezhnev. A senior Soviet party official, Vadim Zagladin, said last week, "If U.S.-Soviet relations are so bad at present that they are virtually nonexistent."

Indeed, there has not been a summit meeting since Jimmy Carter met Brezhnev in Vienna in 1979 to sign the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT



Altogether, the process of negotiation, the armistice grew. Now the U.S. Arms Control Association estimates that the United States has stockpiled roughly 26,000 nuclear warheads, half of them strategic weapons, half tactical. Washington estimates that the Soviet Union has a total of 26,000 warheads. But the numbers are meaningless: both sides could reduce the planet to a frozen, lifeless ball of water spanning si-

the so-called battle, something the White House and the Kremlin, has not even been able to real business since the 1979 Iran crisis.

Nuclear's drop-armed nuclear and long entrenched habits of the Soviets is one problem, the health problems of his own country are another. Brezhnev was adding throughout most of the final phase of his life on Yalta, Crimea, physically saved him from a tumor, and Andropov is believed to suffer from a severe kidney ailment. But with the two high commanders barely on speaking terms, tensions inevitably rise, and worries proliferate through both governments.

Initiative: Almost since the Soviets began producing nuclear weapons (with the aid of captured U.S. technology), there have been regular and largely ineffective attempts to control the spread and development of the bomb and its associated regimes of destruction. President Dwight Eisenhower, in a 1953 Geneva meeting with Premier Nikita Khrushchev, proposed that the two countries adopt an "open skies" policy, allowing reciprocal aerial inspections of military installations. The Soviets rejected the idea and instead pushed for a comprehensive disarmament package, with open skies to follow. Eisenhower rejected that suggestion and, in a way, helped to set a pattern that would become familiar over the years: each side had different and desirable objectives, and any new round of talks was held, almost by definition, to break down or drag on to no result.

Along the way, however, there was some success. Among them, the 1968 Limit on Test Ban Treaty, signed in the wake of intense international pressure to stop atmospheric nuclear tests as a hazard to human health; the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty signed initially in Washington, Moscow and London and subsequently by more than a hundred countries; the 1972 SALT I agreement, signed in Moscow by Nixon and Brezhnev, which limited the number of nuclear launchers in restriction soon changed by the development of the multiple warhead, and the 1979 SALT II accord, which, among other things, put limits on strategic delivery vehicles and prohibited the testing or deployment of mobile intermediate-range ballistic missiles (MIRVs).

Throughout the process of negotiation, the armistice grew. Now the U.S. Arms Control Association estimates that the United States has stockpiled roughly 26,000 nuclear warheads, half of them strategic weapons, half tactical. Washington estimates that the Soviet Union has a total of 26,000 warheads. But the numbers are meaningless: both sides could reduce the planet to a frozen, lifeless ball of water spanning si-



U.S. soldiers standing guard with rifles in a minefield in Germany: a mind-boggling array of weapons

that he outlined for the Canadian public his major proposal: a conference of the five nuclear powers was called in 1984, with the objective of stabilizing and possibly reducing their weapons stockpiles, a strengthening of the 1968 Sino-Soviet Nonproliferation Treaty, cuts in conventional forces in Europe, and the scrapping of any plans to build such futuristic items as antimatter weapons. Still, the American announced on the weekend that they will undertake a mid-1980s dollar anti-missile program soon.

The Trudeau crusade led his speech in the September sighting of Kootenai Air Lines flight 001 by Soviet fighters. Trudeau publicly denounced the incident, which claimed 28 lives, as an illustration of the danger of air-ing-

erent issues on Beach Lake, north of the capital. Among those attending senior External Affairs security and arms specialist Louis Delvois, Perry Council Clark Gordon, Globalization, Assistant Cabinet Secretary Robert Fowler, Trudeau's chief of staff, Tom Anwarbo, several senior ambassadors, Brig-Germaine Archambault of Defense, as well as MacKinnon and Trudeau. A task force under Delvois was assigned to sift through proposals and make firm recommendations to the Prime Minister.

By mid-October, Trudeau had made up his mind. He presented the plan to cabinet and began to write letters and make phone calls. The initial reaction from most foreign governments ranged from wary politeness to personal dislike. After some delay Reagan replied

ently through space by descending only a small fraction of their stockpiles. The 104 Pershing is deployed in West Germany, 1,000 km from their targets, nuclear 304 times the power of the bomb that the Americans dropped on Hiroshima.

Britain became a full-fledged nuclear power in 1952 and now has a stockpile of 386 warheads. France, which joined the club in 1960, has 400 nuclear-armed warheads as well as 18 land-based missiles. Since Canada exploded its bomb in 1982, it has built 200 missiles and an estimated total of 200 warheads, all of them based in the north and believed to be targeted on the Soviets. India exploded a nuclear device in 1974—calling Canadian-supplied plutonium "technology—to prove to the world that it had the technical capability, but US intelligence sources say that India has not built any nuclear weapons since, although it is stockpiling enough plutonium to manufacture about 30 bombs a year if it chose to do so.

Trapped: So far, the size of the nuclear club is not large in terms of membership. But that may well change soon. The Pentagon estimates that by the year 2000 as many as 31 nations may have nuclear weapons. A classified US report entitled *Global Warnings* declares that the greatest threat of nuclear war in this century comes not from a superpower but from the possibility that a smaller nation may find itself trapped by an enemy that will not back down. But for the moment, at least, the big powers with the bomb pose the problem that Trudeau and other heads of government want to concentrate on.

As the Prime Minister's pilgrimage appeared to be gathering momentum on the far side of the world, it was something less than a complete success at home. Not a few Canadians were skeptical of the man, his mission and his motives. One barometer of skepticism in Canada

is the ubiquitous radio phone-in show, and a number of these programs across the country logged negative calls. Said open-line host Saul Jacobson of *Carib Radio in Regina*, "People seem to think a peace pilgrimage was a good idea, but that it should be left to someone else, a [Henry] Kissinger. They believe Trudeau should focus his energies on dealing with unemployment and inflation." Similarly, in an informal street poll in St. John's only one in a dozen Newfoundlanders did not believe that Trudeau had ulterior (and political) motives in his crusade.



Soviet negotiator Val Krysinskiy; and Pearson (right), private visit

But Beth Powning of *Sentinel*, N.B., came down on the other side. She wrote to the editor of the *Fredericton Daily Gazette*: "Here, in my secluded valley, where the only sounds are those of cows and ravens, it all seems so remote. And yet I, and you, must never forget for an instant that we too live on a terribly threatened I have felt a weight lifting from me since Pierre Trudeau began his peace initiative. It is like a running poem in his hand, signed a loving letter."

The Beth Pownings, in their thousands, are the Canadians Robert Lacroix's Toronto-based non-profit paper to reach (among the founding members) former federal finance minister Walter Gordon, University of Toronto Chancellor George Ignatieff, known as a former Canadian ambassador to the

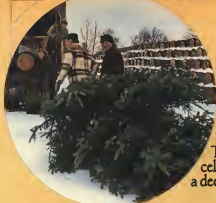
United Nations, historian and author Michael Root, Ontario Arts Council Chairman Walter Pitman.

If the committee can raise enough money, Lacroix said, it would buy a full page in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and publish an open letter to Trudeau. The response, he says, is part "an effort to help to reduce the threat of a nuclear holocaust, deserve the wholehearted support of all Canadians." Regardless of any past attitude to your leadership and disregarding all political partisanship, we are now all one with you... We urge all Canadians to rise to the high level of consensus by which our country through its Prime Minister and people can play an honorable role in helping to ensure peace and goodwill to all men and women."

Impassioned: Not even his harshest critics could honestly accuse Trudeau of developing a sudden or intense interest in the nuclear question. Nearly 30 years ago, before he joined the Liberal party, he served both it and sister Pearson for considering accepting nuclear weapons on Canadian soil. The Pearson government did so. Five years later, in 1965, Trudeau was the Liberal prime minister and, in a review of defence policy, he began stripping the

Canadian Armed Forces of their nuclear weapons. The last phase of that decision is only now being completed, with the removal of warheads from the old CF-106 interceptors. Those planes will be replaced by the CF-18s, which will not carry nuclear weapons. Disputedly through the years, Trudeau has delivered impassioned speeches calling for arms control, and in a well-bred 1978 address at the UN he proposed the "self-limitation" of the arms race by stifling research and development of new weapons. He may be, as some of his less charitable critics suggest, a prime minister near the end of power and contemplating his place in the history books. But those same critics would probably have to concede that Trudeau is also a 64-year-old father of three young sons who have every right to expect to inherit the earth, alive, green and full of promise.

With John Gray in New Delhi, Michael Power and William Leather in Washington, Mary-Joanne van Olphen, Christopher Henry in Stockholm, Peter Lewis in Brussels, Wendy Lee in Policy and correspondence reports.



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Ottawa assesses Trudeau's mission

By Carol Gear

November seemed blinder than snow in 1956 British and French troops had just invaded the Suez Canal zone, and diplomats around the world feared that the Soviet Union and the United States would soon be drawn into the conflict. No one was more acutely aware of the danger in Egypt than Canada's external affairs minister, Lester Pearson, who headed his fight for New York and the United Nations shortly after lunch on Nov. 1, he did not know that his proposal for a UN peace-keeping force would be the diplomatic triumph of his career and would win him the Nobel Peace Prize. Neither did he foresee that his international success would contribute to his party's defeat in the 1967 election.

But Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau has studied the lessons of history. That was evident last week when he told his 60 Commonwealth colleagues at the opening of the summit in New Delhi. "The difference between the politician and the statesman is that the former worries about the next election, whereas the latter is concerned with the next generation." That difference explains the curious mixture of praise and skepticism that has greeted Trudeau's peace mission in Canadian political circles. On the one hand, the Prime Minister's critics feel compelled to wish him well in his efforts to ease mounting East-West tensions. But on the other hand, they question his credibility as a peacekeeper and suggest that his crusade for improved relations between the world's superpowers is really a quest for votes in the next election. Winnipeg New Democrat David Orlov was not typical of the divided opinion. Said Orlov: "I'm not a big fan but I have some reasons. I'm not holding my breath that he will."

Hedgehogs: Predictably, Trudeau's latest venture has set off a new wave of speculation about his personal philosophy. Within his own party, would-be successors and their supporters are praising Trudeau's peace mission in the hope that it represents a gracious and high-minded last act in his 16-year career as Liberal leader. One member of

the Trudeau cabinet recently predicted that the peace crusade would boost the party's popularity rating (which now stands at a dismal 26 per cent) by five points. The Prime Minister could then merge with the nation's request. That would clear the way for a spring Liberal leadership convention, allowing the various aspirants to compete openly for his job. But opposition members, ever fearful of the man who has risen from apparent political death more than

free trade with the United States. The second was the election of 1967, when the Conservatives lost mainly because of their opposition to equipping Canadian Battlecruisers with nuclear warheads. As a rule, Clippingdale said, foreign issues play a "minor and peripheral role" in Canadian elections.

Except. As well, Trudeau has not been wrong in selling his peace plan to Canadian voters. Although he launched his crusade with failures a mere six

with a major policy speech at the University of Guelph, it soon became bogged down in a series of public relations mistakes. First, Trudeau fell off for a dramatic hour at an European capitals early in November without even stopping to explain to journalists exactly what he was proposing. He also offered few details about the reaction of European leaders to his proposals. Then Trudeau unveiled his peace plan at a perfunctory event—a \$350-a-plate Liberal dinner in Montreal. Said a *Windsor Free Press* editorial: "This was an insensitive way to develop public understanding of his thinking on an issue that brings thousands out on Canadian streets and that causes schoolchildren to weep." And finally, on Nov. 25, when Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney urged Trudeau to make a full statement to Parliament, the Prime Minister replied only "I was surprised that the Opposition did not ask questions the week that I made have after I made my Guelph speech. A lot of people commented on it."

Trudeau again declined to take the issue into his confidence before departing for Avia

on the latest stage of his international pilgrimage. Said Mulroney: "I would have thought there would have been a little more mundanity and civility coming from the Prime Minister."

Mulroney and the Tories have largely refrained from criticizing Trudeau's peace endeavor. But Senator Bennett, the party's often outspoken external affairs critic, has been publicly supportive. "I think people generally with him well and know his heart for that matter anybody on the world stage—our contribute to peace," he said.

But behind the Turner public display of encouragement lies the conviction that Trudeau's initiative poses little po-



Turner grumbling within the party

litical danger. They strategize behind the scenes as so far down in the polls that it would take an "absolute miracle," in Sturges' words, to reverse their political fortunes. The Tories have also concluded that, even with the peace mission, Trudeau's chances of securing a stunning international success are slim. And they have chosen, as a self-described government-in-waiting, to look as statesmanlike as possible on the issue.

Anyway, still, the Conservatives have two deep-seated worries. One is that Trudeau could surprise everyone and achieve a major disarmament breakthrough. The other is that his mission may anger the United States to the point that the Reagan administration would tell him not to interfere in the disarmament process. "This kind of bullying would make Canadians feel in his defense," said a backroom Conservative. That reaction could be even more pronounced in the wake of Mulroney's impassioned defence of Ronald Reagan and his policies in Toronto last week. In a speech to a fund-raising dinner, he said that he would always support "our greatest friend, the president of the United States. If our friends need us, we'll be there. From time to time, as he is."

The New Democrats have adopted a different approach. While applauding the idea of peacekeeping, they contend that Trudeau is going about it the wrong way. "His motive has highly respected an individual might be in world events, an individual's globe-trotting efforts are far caught if his own government's policies and actions support the nuclear arms race," said NDP external affairs critic Pauline Zenger. The NDP maintains that if the government was determined to slow the arms race

it would be the testing of U.S. cruise missiles, stop all production of nuclear armaments in Canada and declare the country a nuclear-free zone.

Trudeau's peace ambitions place the Liberals in the most awkward position of all. Since they came back to power in February, 1980, after the brief Clark reign, they have watched their popularity plunge to 26 per cent from 44 per cent. During that time many party members have wondered whether Trudeau will keep his four-year-old promise to resign before the next election. Now, many fear that the Prime Minister may stay on longer to complete his own crusade. A growing contingent within the party is convinced that the only way the Liberals will have a fighting chance in the next election is to choose a new leader this spring. "We have set an unwritten deadline of the

total status can save the party at the polls. Said Quebec back-bencher Dennis Dawson: "People say it is political. When you're the Prime Minister and the leader of a party, it has got to be political."

Message: While the politicians look for hidden signals and motives in Trudeau's behavior, many Canadians appear willing to take his mission at face value. A total of 546 people have sent the Prime Minister letters of support since his Guelph speech. Ten have written to oppose his effort. Trudeau's correspondence director, Marie-Andrée Beaudin, said that the contents of the Prime Minister's mailing, which attracts about 100,000 letters a year, reveal that disarmament is the longest running preoccupation of Canadians.

One of those who has frequently written to support Trudeau's peace effort is King Gordon, former president of the United Nations Association in Canada and winner of the Pearson Peace Prize. At 82, Gordon's health shows signs of flagging. Said Gordon: "I think I am seeing the reality of a world that is changing very rapidly and dangerously and I think Trudeau is seeing it too. I feel this more acutely than I have ever felt it before. He may actually interrupt a very bad chain reaction."

That is what Lester Pearson did in New York 27 years ago—An suggestion for a peacekeeping mission "prevented a brush fire from becoming an all-consuming blaze." In his own words, he first arrived in 1951 to receive his Nobel Prize on Dec. 11, 1952. Canadian voters had turned out for his party and made him once again the ordinary man for Algoma. That, history might be kind to students. But, as Trudeau may discover, voters, as a rule, are not.

With Peter Van Doorn in Ottawa



Pearson and Gordon (right) shook hands in a dangerously changing world

end of this year," said one supporter of an unofficial leadership candidate, Ray Street lawyer John Turner. "If [Trudeau] does not say something definitive by then, you will start to hear a lot of grumbling within the party."

Privately, many Liberals are calling Trudeau's peace mission his last stand. One cabinet minister with leadership aspirations said he was convinced that it is the 64-year-old leader's way of returning to a place of glory. A second front-bench Liberal—a *Times* backer—said that the Prime Minister may be attempting to rescue the Liberals from oblivion by leaving poster on the front porch. At the same time, Trudeau still has his loyalists who appear positively convinced that his interna-



The fallout of The Day After

A s estimated 100 million Americans watched *The Day After*, ABC television's fictional account of a nuclear holocaust. With its heavy advance promotion and its graphic rendering of Armageddon in Kansas, the film sparked concern within the Reagan administration. Several officials feared the drama would sway public opinion, creating broad opposition to the president's strategic policies. To avert that possibility, the White House mounted a series of countermeasures designed to reassure the nation that the administration's arms control efforts were sincere. Said Reagan, who had on screen witnessed the drama and watched it again when it aired nationally: "We're doing everything we can."

The administration deployed several officials to spread the message of the president's concern. Secretary of State George Shultz, sitting in a comfortable leather chair in his Bethesda, Md., home, appeared on ABC immediately after the broadcast. He said that nuclear war was unacceptable and that the president's efforts to negotiate with the Soviets were sincere and the best defense against a nuclear escalation. Later in the week several personnel in the Pentagon and in the White House returned to expand on the same themes.

The campaign may have succeeded. A Washington Post poll conducted last week after the movie was shown suggested an increasing number of Americans now believe Reagan's handling of foreign affairs is decreasing the chances of war. A public opinion sample taken on Nov. 5 indicated that 55 per cent thought his conduct of diplomacy increased the odds of war. In last week's sample, 40 per cent maintained that opinion. At the same time, Reagan's personal popularity soared to a near record high—46 per cent of those polled approved of the president's performance, while only 28 per cent of the respondents disapproved.

Even so, the film may have generated additional support for the idea of a nuclear freeze, which Reagan firmly opposes. An estimated 80 per cent of respondents now favor that option. As well, 60 per cent of Americans considered the movie "worthwhile." But in the drama's wake, fewer Americans believe that a nuclear war between the superpowers is likely in the next five years. That confidence in the future, at least for the short term, should bolster support for the president's arms strategy.

—MICHAEL POHOREN
in Washington



Nuclear test: when civilian casualties are called "collateral damage."

Nukespeak: of war and SIOP

West generally decries the tactics and techniques of nuclear war, they talk in nukespeak—a bewildering jargon made up of acronyms and coded phrases. To clear a path through the verbal fallout, *Maclean's* asked Washington correspondent William Lowther for a glossary of some of the more familiar terms. His report:

SIOP: Single Integrated Operational Plan, the Pentagon's blueprint for fighting a nuclear war.

Design pre-SIOP environment phase:

First strike: a surprise nuclear missile attack designed to destroy the enemy's warfiles.

Collateral damage: civilian casualties from a nuclear strike.

Evacuate: the damage from a nuclear explosion to other incoming warheads.

Launch on warning: launching nuclear missiles solely on the basis of an electronic warning that an enemy missile attack has begun.

Nuclear winter: a global climatic catastrophe, which scientists believe a nuclear war might cause, with temperatures dropping below freezing for more than a year.

Window of vulnerability: a supposed gap in U.S. defense systems that would allow a successful Soviet first strike.

START: Strategic Arms Reduction Talks. The discussions are continuing in Geneva despite the Soviet walkout from parallel negotiations on their own weapons. The START talks' aim is to reduce the numbers of interconti-

mental missiles kept by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Zero option: President Ronald Reagan's proposal to freeze the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe if the Soviets will dismantle 600 intermediate-range missiles.

ICBM: intercontinental ballistic missile.

SALT: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks treaty, an agreement signed in 1972 which limited the United States to a maximum of 1,054 inter and 656 submarine-launched missiles (SLBMs) and the Soviets to 1,406 inter and 363 SLBMs. The second accord on Oct. 3, 1979, but both sides said they would abide by its provisions pending negotiation of a new treaty.

ARM: Anti-Ballistic missile—one that can destroy an incoming ballistic missile. Under a 1976 treaty, the Soviet Union and the United States are limited to 100 ARM launchers each.

MAD: Mutual Assured Destruction, a theory that neither superpower will attack the other because both know that retaliation would be fatal.

SS-20: the SS-20 code name for a Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missile. About 250 of these weapons, as well as about 300 of the much older SS-4 and SS-5 missiles, are based in Eastern Europe. The SS-20 can reach its target in Western Europe in 10 to 25 minutes.

Pershing II: the new intermediate-range U.S. missile to be based in West Germany. It has a 1,000-km range and it can reach its target in five minutes with pinpoint accuracy. ☐

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Mulroney unites his factions



Kathy Davis (left), Mulroney, Davis and Mrs. Mulroney at a Toronto fund-raiser; a new leader with a firm grip

By Mary Javan

The small October rebellion within Tory ranks ended quickly and quietly—and without strident expression of solidarity. In any case, a few members of the Conservative party's national executive committee wanted to keep their hands clean to avoid the party's \$5-million operating budget. They feared Tony Leiner Brian Mulroney, who insisted that the party's fund-raising arm, the PC Canada Fund, should be able to set the budget without their direct involvement.

The 34 committee members were asked the power to amend the budget during the first year of Joe Clark's leadership and they used it to investigate and question Clark's spending decisions. But Mulroney was adamant that PC Canada Fund Chairman David Angus, the Montreal lawyer who is one of his staunchest supporters, should control the money. The dissenters protested, but the meeting ended with their surrender. "I don't understand what the unbridled approval of the Mulroney people for me," said one committee member later confided. "But they're too politically adept to even make it visible. Someone always ends up willing to go along."

That tripartite at a full executive committee meeting (Illustration Mulroney's

firm hold over the traditionally divided party. In the 5½ months since he won the Tory leadership from Clark, he has pacified the warring and notified members of all leadership camps. He and his allies control the budget. The party's quietest headquarters in a renovated building, far blocks from Parliament Hill, is now functioning more effi-

Clark's support and the party's soaring popularity have united the Conservatives behind their new leader

ciently. As well, he has set up a complete election strategy team and a transition-to-government team—and both groups are preparing for an election that could take place as early as next spring. Still, a continuing week-end in Mulroney's campaign life in his own Parliament Hill office, where some staff members are either unacquainted, overworked or both. And in his policy pronouncements, Mulroney has been deliberately vague. As a result, some Tories may begin to rebel when he finally provides specifics.

While Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau travelled through Asia last week on his international peace mission, Mulroney concentrated on improving the party's organization at home. At midweek he moved with his wife, Mita, and their three children into the Opposition leader's official residence at Stornoway. The family had been living impatiently at Boulder Jeanne Savoy's summer residence in the Outlines Hills for three months while public works officials renovated the three-story house. And late last week Mulroney addressed a Toronto fund-raising dinner—the fifth in a series of seven cross-Canada events. "Things are working," a key Tory insider noted. "Mulroney has everyone doing something—gelling the organization together."

One of Mulroney's major campaigns has been directed at reducing the friction within the party camps, bringing together the 150 MPs and senators who battled consistently during the dead Clark years. Party insiders say that the group is now united because of Clark's gross support for his former rival, because of Mulroney's conflict-free gestures, and as a result of the party's high standing in the polls. Still, some potential trouble spots remain. For one thing, Mulroney appointed ultraconservative Toronto-area MP Richard Stevens to the

created post of external affairs critic to appease the party's right wing. But party moderates are worried that any extreme statements will alienate Tory converts. As well, the party is striving to stay united over issues such as the U.S. invasion of Grenada. But so far Mulroney has proven to be a shrewd generalist. He convinced the caucus to accept a controversial Commons resolution supporting the extension of bilingual services in Manitoba. And he appointed his former leadership contender and key members from Tory cliques to responsible party positions. "I have never seen a road to success like it since the [John] Diefenbaker triumph in 1958," declared Newfoundland MP James McGrath. "He always personalizes things. He has a great way with people."

Mulroney appointees have also put the national party headquarters in order. Although Clark had a reputation as a superb organizer, the leadership struggle consumed much of his attention. As a result, there were no spending guidelines in the party's operations budget until this fall. And although the party remained solvent, it paid about \$100,000 in 1985 interest charges because of poor banking arrangements. When fund-raiser Angus moved in last June, he collected all of the staff's Bell Canada credit cards and imposed an expense account limit of \$5 for breakfast, \$7 for lunch and \$15 for supper. At the same time, the party's direct mail fund-raising drive this fall has brought in more than \$300,000. Mulroney Director Jack Johnson, an efficient veteran of Tony Clark's ranks, has begun to reorganize party headquarters and set up a satellite-level one paid apparatus in such provinces. "I feel that the key to success in decentralizing operations," he said. "There was a tremendous breakdown in communication among the various elements of the party on what the needs were. Now it's much more grassroots—we have covered all our bases."

But Mulroney's own office is not operating smoothly. Leaders in some cities, disappointed for the fact that Mulroney stumbled badly in the House of Commons. Finally, research caused Mulroney to embarrass himself in September when he asked that Ottawa continue Atlantic rail subsidies. That request came several hours after a federal announcement that the subsidies would continue.

These incidents convinced that Chief of Staff Fred Dowden, a former university development director, has not yet mastered the political and managerial skills needed to run the office. Besides, they say that Deputy Chief of Staff Lee Anderson, the former director of Premier Peter Lougheed's office, is far too preoccu-

pled with narrow Alberta interests. The party is still out on some people it says. Some are still fighting the old leadership battle, and some are inexperienced in national politics," declared one Tory veteran.

The other key tactic trying to make Mulroney the most prime minister are



Macdonald government waiting

working well. Norm Adams has used the experience he gained in roughly 10 provincial and federal election battles to murmur the national office in Ottawa. He directs the Tories' campaign committee and he has formed more than 40 at the party's last organization into a formidable squad. At the same time, he has managed successfully to court Mulroney but now—crucially to his loss—has close ties to Premier William Davis.

For his part, veteran Clark loyalist Philip MacDonnell heads the four-part transition team preparing for the day

that the Tories take over the government. Until then, he is in charge of a team policy group is examining recommendations from both the caucus and five task forces to ensure that the party knows how new policies will affect such things as the budget and federal-provincial relations. Another group is studying how people to fill about 80 ministerial staff positions. Still another is studying a list of the 3,000 federal patronage appointments. Finally, a group chaired by Alberta MP Doug Munro is examining the machinery of government itself. Mulroney has learned that that group believes most public servants need only "new and clear direction." Many fringes are not pleased, but the group will recommend that public officials, such as deputy ministers, who have been deeply involved with the policies of the previous government should not "spend over their disaffection."

Clearly, Mulroney has devoted more time to strategy and party relations than to policy. He is unlikely to flush out those until the election. But some provinces may come back to haunt him. For one thing, he has vowed to control spending while saying that Canada's armed forces will ensure "first-class treatment." As well, he has advocated more funding for nuclear programs in exchange for the removal of provincial user fees. Mulroney has denounced federal energy taxes but promised to expand the exploration incentive program to include foreign companies. And two weeks ago he pledged financial and top-level government jobs to ethnic Canadians. All these announcements have two characteristic qualities: they require big deficits and little indication of the size of the extra money.

All the scrutiny creates fierce demands on Mulroney's time and attention, and more than 1,000 suggestions have asked him to speak more as he came from London. His meetings are devoted to meetings with caucus constituents and aides to plan his strategy for the daily Commons Question Period. Lunch is often soup and a sandwich while he sits off with long-time friend and wife's aide Patricia Allan. The afternoons are filled with a steady procession of appointments, such as with the Canadian Cattlemen's Association. Then, most evenings he goes home with hundreds of letters to be signed—usually with a personal note added. Now, finally in Stornoway, his quiet moments will be spent reading and watching movies on the family's VHS cassette recorder. The leisure time is likely to shrink, and workdays that now stretch to 16 hours may grow even longer as the federal election approaches. That is when Mulroney will need all his negotiating skills to reconcile disappointed interest groups. ☐



Burned canister: one of the most extensive murders in Canadian history

Arrest in camper murders

Fourteen months ago police found the charred remains of six vacationing campers in Wells Gray Provincial Park in British Columbia's rugged Interior. Then, last week, the RCMP finally made an arrest. Officers charged David William Sheering, 34, of Clearwater, B.C., 110 km north of Kamloops, with the second-degree murders of Keith and George Bentley, their daughter, Jeannette Johnson, her husband, Robert, and two children, Janet and Karen. After one of the most extensive—and expensive—manhunts in Canadian history, police found the suspect living less than two kilometers from the place where investigators believe the families had been camping on the night of their deaths.

Sheering's arrest brought some relief to the 1,000 residents of Clearwater. But it also raised a troubling issue: why did it take police more than a year to make an arrest? As well, many people in the area also suspect that the crime, which involved moving six bodies and burning a car and a camper, may have involved more than one killer. Police say that they plan no further arrests but they have not ruled out the possibility.

Investigators followed more than 12,000 leads but concentrated for a year on finding the Bentleys' red-and-white Ford camper. They believed that whoever committed the murders had escaped in it. Several police told police that they had seen two French Canadians in the area driving a vehicle similar

to the Bentleys'. Reports of sightings in almost every province led police to speculate that the killer or killers had fled east. Police drove a camper identical to the Bentleys' across the country as far as Val d'Or, Que., hoping for more leads. But in Oshkosh it was clear that the early search had been in vain. Two provincial forestry workers discovered the camper in a dense, overgrown ravine—just 2 km from where police had found the bodies of the Bentleys and Johnsons.

Following the discovery of the burned-out camper, the RCMP assigned 20 officers to the case. In co-ordinations with local police, they began a house-to-house search, this time asking if anyone had left the area in the past year or changed his or her appearance. Sheering left Clearwater during the summer to look for work in the outback—area near Timburi Ridge in northeastern British Columbia. On June 19 he was arrested in Devon Creek.

Sheering's arrest was the culmination of conversation in Clearwater last week as residents recalled the boy they had grown up with. Sheering has lived in the area all his life. An avid hiker and hunter, he had worked in Wells Gray Provincial Park clearing trails. Said his mother, Rose Sheering: "He was a good boy. I hope the police have made a mistake." At week's end, Sheering was remanded in custody until Dec. 1. He is expected to plea.

—JANE O'HARA in Vancouver

Quality of life preoccupies P.E.I.

When the pay television network Island Cablevision Ltd. started broadcasting Playbox programs in Prince Edward Island last February, the members of the 12-seat provincial legislature were alarmed. The government that then began its first television year had to deal with full-blown quality in the living rooms of the island. In response, last June the legislature appointed a seven-member committee (with four Conservatives and three Liberals). Its mandate: "to examine and investigate the duties of legislation and the effect of this legislature in protecting and enhancing the quality of island life with a view to assisting Islanders to better understand and react to the changing values and perceptions that are becoming ever more apparent in island society."

But the committee's search for democracy during private hearings with judges, police chiefs and social workers backfired last month when the island's car station manager, Patrick Kelly, complained about the closed-door sessions. As a result, a series of six public hearings will now begin this week across the island.

The RCMP refused an invitation to participate in the closed sessions. "An appearance would be in conflict with our function as a law enforcement agency," declared Kelly. He did, however, send a cameraman and a reporter to cover a closed "quality of life" hearing, featuring, among others, Brian Campbell, owner of the local television station, and Walter MacIntyre, managing officer of the Charlottetown Guardian. Committee Chairman Morton Carver first shook his head but then allowed the reporter access to cover the meeting. Campbell and MacIntyre immediately left the room. MacIntyre later explained that he had not brought a brief.

While the publicity over the closed-door sessions has embarrassed the conservative, Liberal member Paul Connolly said that it had whetted Islanders' interest in the open hearings. He defended the committee's sensitive approach, saying members had learned that drug and alcohol abuse and the erosion of family life threatened the island's quality of life even more than pornography. A P.E.I. television to some of the most persistent problems of modern life—let alone what may be shown on living room television screens—would attract attention beyond the shores of the island. After his rocky start, the committee is until the spring to produce some solutions.

KENNETH WALLS in Charlottetown



Pearson feelings a major crisis, then a long glide into Gimli, Man.

The case of the missing fuel

At 1:38 a.m. on July 23, a red-and-white Air Canada 767 passenger jet glided slowly to an emergency landing on an abandoned airstrip at Gimli, Man., 50 km north of Winnipeg. Both of the big aircraft's engines had died moments before, and, after it hit the runway, smoke began billowing the cabin. Then, emergency escape chutes were thrown open and all 61 passengers managed to scramble to safety. But last week the first inquiry to examine closely Air Canada's daily operations raised questions about the airline's staffing and fueling procedures for the five worst jets in its fleet. It is likely that the airline launched its own investigation. Transport Canada may lay charges under the Federal Aeronautics Act.

Testimony of cockpit conversation released in Winnipeg provided a gripping account of how the two pilots reacted as they realized that they were running out of fuel over Northern Quebec. Said First Officer Maurice Quast: "When my engine cut out and all the warning lights flashed on 'Good damn, they are all going out.' The inquiry also drew attention to groundcrew calculations in Montreal, where the plane was loaded with 102,776 kg of fuel, only half enough to reach its scheduled destination at Edmonton International Airport.

As well, Pearson and his flight were concerned that the 767 had only a two-member crew and relied on a computer to monitor refueling. In most other planes the third member on the flight deck checked fueling refueling. "With as many as 50 witnesses still to testify, it will be months before Pearson and Quast find out officially if the 39 days before the forced landing. Now, inquiry counsel Jay Fraser told Mac-

Intyre he will ask the U.S. Federal Aviation Agency to testify about the Boeing 767's fuel gauge problems.

Capt. Robert Pearson, a 26-year veteran with Air Canada, recounted in detail for the inquiry how he safely landed his plane, but he said that he was surprised, however, when Air Canada demoted him to first officer for his mistake and suspended his first officer, Quast, for two weeks without pay. The airline defended the punishment because, it said, the two men were ultimately responsible for the accident. Pearson disputed that charge, and he argued that the 767's faulty gauges forced him to rely on a Montreal groundcrew's calculation of fuel pumped into the aircraft. But Quast claimed that he gave the crew the wrong conversion number, converting those into pounds for the gauges on all other Air Canada planes. Instead of litres to kilograms. Under Air Canada rules, refueling is the shared responsibility of the groundcrew and pilots. If instruments are not working.

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A crucial vote in the N.W.T.

To elect their legislative assembly last week, members of the Northwest Territories convened a difficult vote virtually unknown in the rest of Canada. A plane dropped ballots into the remote community of Fort Reliance. In Kaktovik, a settlement of about 1,000 people in the Eastern Arctic, almost the entire male population barely returned in time to vote because of a search for a lost hunter. Still, a solid 70 per cent of 22,000 eligible voters voted across 2.3 million square miles. The result, a narrow 14-12 vote, was 14 of 24 seats. The territory will almost certainly get the first seat in a legislature when the assembly convenes in January.

The territorial assembly is the only legislature in the country, following 101 territories by one across rather than party politics. And next month when the council meets, it will choose a leader and a seven-member executive committee which will function as a cabinet. Tugak-Atlaya, a founding member of the Inuit Tapscott and Canada and a man known for his strong backbone skills, is one of the top leadership contenders.

Whether he is, the new leader will have to deal with the most controversial issue facing the assembly: the location of a boundary line when the territories are split in two, an event that could take place within four years. For their part, the Inuit in the Eastern Arctic want a new border, raising disagreement from the Macleanes. In the northwest, on Hudson Bay in the southeast, the Inuit and whites in the Western Arctic say this would give the new eastern territory two-thirds of the land. That would be a move even voters should be wary of.

Throughout the vast territory, there had a rare opportunity to learn promptly what they had brought. The CBC, using a \$100,000 satellite hookup to broadcast live from the council rooms, provided the first live television coverage of a territorial election. At the same time, CBC radio reported on the voting in seven Inuit and Inuk dialects. The council results strengthened entire group's political equality, even independence, is possible—even if all 60 territorial residents could fit comfortably into Vancouver's new central stadium. It was clear that the new assembly, facing land claim settlements and the boundary issue, is approaching the most significant four-year term in the territory's history.

—SANDRA KROCHETTE in Yellowknife



Succumb. It seemed that British Columbia's 13-day strike had never happened

An uneasy West Coast truce

On the surface, the truce between British Columbia's Social Credit government and the province's unions is remarkable for its resilience and stability. Indeed, last week it seemed as though British Columbia's disruptive 13-day strike had never happened. But behind the scenes the Solidarity Coalition—the broadly based alliance of labor and community groups—re-emphasized the gains that it made in trying to stop Premier William Bennett's restraint legislation. And not everyone is satisfied. There is general agreement that the allies won genuine concessions concerning job security, but Jim Scammon, national secretary treasurer of the Canadian Association of Industrial, Mechanical and Allied Workers, declared that the strike had not gained any substantial benefits for the activists fighting for such issues as human rights and women's rights.

There will be a debate within the movement over the gains at the B.C. Federation of Labour convention this week in Vancouver. But it will likely be drowned out by charges of *Subsidized Power* as the union leaders seek to stress the importance of unity in the continuing fight with the Bennett government. Still, none of the discussion cannot be glossed over. Said Scammon: "When Solidarity started up in July, the unions were in it for social justice, not just for bread-and-butter labor issues. What we ended up with was a handful of union bureaucrats making decisions for the majority. And these fighting for social issues had the rug

pullled out from under them."

The truce, which was hammered out by Jack Munro, the powerful president of the International Woodworkers of America, and Bennett, called for the creation of advisory committees with labor involvement and promised "meaningful" consultations between government and community leaders, who are unhappy with the Bennett attack on social institutions. The first of these committees has been set up to discuss proposed changes to the provincial Labour Code. The two sides are also talking about similar committees to deal with human rights issues and the Bennett test budget. But last week, when representatives of various groups met with Commerce Minister James Benoit to discuss the abolition of the office that handles landlord and tenant disputes, they failed to make any progress. "The negotiations were meaningless," said David Lane, co-ordinator of the Tenants' Rights Action Centre. "The minister refused to budge on any substantial issue."

The member groups of the Solidarity Coalition plan to keep fighting government to protect the rights of the unemployed and the disadvantaged in the province and have planned a massive demonstration for Dec. 30. And, although they have the moral support of the unions, it is clear that the labor unions will not use their trump card—a strike—to regain lost social services. And in British Columbia, winning seems to be the only useful tactic. —JANIS O'LEARY in Vancouver.

The PQ loses a founding father

Quebec Manpower and Income Security Minister Pierre Marcovici suddenly quit politics last week, snuffing Premier René Lévesque, who regarded the 43-year-old lawyer—one of the founders of the Parti Québécois in 1968—as his oldest associate in cabinet. Marcovici, frustrated by the government's low standing in the polls and his waning influence in cabinet, resigned his legislative seat in a Montreal suburb, saying that he did not believe that he could be useful for the PQ any longer. Two days before his unexpected departure, Marcovici revealed his frustrations with the party's sagging popularity. "It is the same everywhere," declared an emotional Marcovici, while attending a rally in Lévesque's South Shore riding of Thériault. Fewer than 300 supporters had turned out to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Parti Québécois. "There is a general lack of motivation in the PQ," Marcovici said.

Marcovici's Nov. 30 resignation came one day after the Opposition Liberals had denounced the government by revealing that his department had given a \$21,300 job creation grant to a St.-Jas strip-tease club. As well, the Liberals gleefully noted that the father of a secretary to PQ back-bencher Denis Perron was the owner of the club. Lévesque and Marcovici denied knowledge of the grant, but the disclosure further isolated the minister within the cabinet. Bennett Stéves, his press secretary, said that Marcovici believed that Lévesque had lost confidence in him. And there are reports that Lévesque upbraided Marcovici at a recent cabinet meeting, criticizing him for poorly managing his department and for leaking information to the press.

Marcovici had the reputation of being one of the most socially conscious PQ ministers. When the party took power in 1976, he became minister of state for social development and he championed reforms in occupational health and safety, as well as winning wider legal rights for young people. In April, 1981, Marcovici became labor, manpower and income security minister, but he began having problems a year later when he took an extended leave of absence after colluding from what the government described as "extreme exhaustion." Marcovici announced his resignation shortly after a 45-minute private meeting with Lévesque. For the moment, it was a personal shock. For the Parti Québécois, it seemed another tie to the handsy days of its founding 15-year ago.

—ANTHONY WILSON/STAFF in Montreal.

PEOPLE

When renowned tinner Luciano Pavarotti requested tickets for the horse show at the Royal Winter Fair in Toronto last month, the Canadian Equestrian Team asked in its books. The object of Pavarotti's attention was Shawline, a 16-year-old brown gelding and Olympic team prospect, ridden by veteran Jim Blair and owned by Toronto industrialist Ernst Samuel Ostensky. Pavarotti wanted to buy the English-bred jumper for one of his three daughters and, in turn, claim a Pavarotti entry on the Italian Olympic equestrian team. Shawline, one of the stars of the first Canadian team, was up for sale. But Canada's horses get sold at the prospect of losing the \$250,000 horse to the Italians and began a search for corporate purchasers. Although Pavarotti did not attend the National Cup event, at which Shawline eased through two difficult rounds, the opera star knows where he seeks. Two years ago he purchased *Clifford County*, a Canadian show jumping contender, and he regularly attends international jumping events. At the National Horse Show in New York last month, Pavarotti underwrote a sponsor by

winning ordinary jeans and a sheepskin coat. "His fellows dress closely and, really, it is that get-up of his, he looks like my other Italian horse fan," says Canadian equestrian spokesman Bruce Jane Anstey. At week's end, the Canadians were still scrambling to find a purchaser, an Italian team in transit to inspect Samuel's horse, and Canada's medal hopes next summer hang in the balance.

Debbie Winger is an unlikely candidate for the role of sex symbol. But the 28-year-old from Glenora, Texas, has made her mark in the film business as a salicy star, an accomplished actress and a free spirit as well as the act. After seven years in commercials



Abbott (left), Morgan, Broadfoot, Guy, Pansencer, a decade

Clash with Shawline: a lover's threat



and television, Winger was the past opposite John Travolta in *Urban Cowboy*. That led to her role as Paula, who was the kind of girl who left out that reading Cosmopolitan would eventually bring her happiness, in the summer summer 1982 hit *An GQ*.

"There are not that many long-running show business events in Canada," said Abbott, "except for Frost Place Challenge and *Twelve Months*." Although the Parro's middle-of-the-road brand of humor is arguably at the same league as these stage shows, there is no denying its broad appeal, a characteristic that the group chafes up to chemistry. "The reason the Air Force came out is because the five of us like working together," said Abbott. Added Broadfoot: "We get along better than



Winger unlikely sex symbol

we're reporters. A more private matter: Are you aware that 'my life is a little wild sometimes'?"

Over the past 10 years Roger Abbott, Dave Broadfoot, Don Pansencer, Luba Guy and John Morgan have managed to create and maintain one of Can-

ada's few comedy institutions—The Royal Canadian Air Force. The group will celebrate its 10th anniversary by taping a CMT Radio special, to be aired on Dec. 16 and 21, and by releasing its second album in the same week, still widely surprised by the success.

—JANIS O'LEARY in Toronto.



Commonwealth leaders at summit: eruption of its intensive debate over the United States' invasion of Grenada

WORLD

Grenada's divisive legacy

As conditions kept the conference room free of the hot anger that had settled over New Delhi last week. But they did not dampen the host generated by a Commonwealth dispute over Grenada. On the second day of their summit, the Commonwealth leaders plunged into an abrasive argument about the Oct. 25 U.S. invasion. Critics condemned it as a dangerous precedent that might lead to intervention in their own countries by bigger powers. The six Caribbean Commonwealth leaders called nations who took part in the operation called it an act of self-defense. For his part, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau held a harsh view of several of the invasion's planners although he still disapproved of the operation. Said a Canadian official: "We did not agree with the invasion when it happened and we still do not agree."

The Grenada dispute erupted suddenly. The upcoming elections were well-known in advance, but professional diplomats flying into the Indian capital had hoped that the issue would be settled in the informal sessions and not because of G-6, where the leaders all took a weekend break from their seven-day conference. Instead, several African leaders who actively raised the question the day after Indian Prime Minister In-

dira Gandhi opened the conference. They argued that the assault had destroyed the principle of nonintervention in other countries' affairs. Their principal concern that South Africa, like the United States, might claim the right to protect its citizens and attack on small black African neighbors. One African leader even suggested that African states would need nuclear weapons to defend themselves.

"That was precisely the kind of racial proliferation that Trudeau spent the first day of the conference arguing against," But the Prime Minister did not press his opposition to his guests' Grenada intervention at his London. He instead asked whether the Caribbean leaders wanted Canada to end its involvement in the region. They replied that they need Washington for security but that they do not want to appear to be dominated by the United States. A Canadian official said later that the Caribbean states view Canada as "a kind of psychological buffer."

The leaders also explained to Trudeau the reasons that they did not consult him in advance of what they called the "breach mission." They said that they knew that Trudeau would oppose the plan.

At the conference against, the Caribbean leaders involved in the invasion

reacted angrily to charges that they had merely given protective political cover to the United States. Dominican Prime Minister Eugenio Charles said that arms caches found on Grenada "indicated sinister motives to threaten the security of neighboring states." But Guyanese President Forbes Burnham said that the weapons could not have been used to export revolution. Charles and his allies, Burnham declared, were "trying to sell an unstable story."

The summit sessions on other issues were as inconclusive as the discussions about Grenada. Cypriot President Spyros Kyprianou arrived late to make an emotional plea for support against the Turkish community's New 30 unilateral declaration of independence. But that subject, like Trudeau's peace mission and Third World finances, was left to be settled in the calmness of a beach-side G-6 session in time for this week's ritual final communiqué. Said, a seasoned Canadian diplomat, "The summit was the best of all worlds. It was a civilizing force, it was a good way of getting solutions into the drawing board."

—JOHN HAY in New Delhi

SUDAN

Nimeiry girds for a revolt



Sudanese troops on parade, for both Washington and Khartoum the stakes are high

Sudanese President Gaafar Nimeiry seized power in a 1969 coup, he has maneuvered adroitly to maintain his grip on office. The president has developed a strong relationship with the United States and he has secured vast amounts of aid from Washington. This year alone he has received \$449 million, more than any other sub-Saharan African state has been granted by the Americans. In turn, he has used the assistance to strengthen his position by building up the armed forces and by a series of ambitious projects designed to improve life for Sudan's 30 million poverty-stricken people. But last week, when Nimeiry visited U.S. President Jimmy Carter in Washington, he indicated that he is facing a serious crisis. Nimeiry declared that Libya, Ethiopia and Cuba are backing a burgeoning revolt in predominantly Christian southern Sudan, where guerrillas are again fighting for autonomy. Said a source with close links to Reagan's National Security Council (NSC): "We are very concerned about Nimeiry's future, as well as that of the Sudan as a whole."

Indeed, for both Washington and Khartoum the stakes are high. Nimeiry has supported the United States in opposing the expansionist policies of Libyan leader Muammar Khadafi in northern Africa, particularly in Chad. Not only that, but Khartoum competes for buffer positions between Libya in the north and Lt.-Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam's Marxist regime in Ethiopia. Washington considers that Mengistu's own expansionist attitude could be a po-

tent threat to the stability of the strategic Horn of Africa. As well, the rebellion poses a direct threat to a major oil exploration program by the California-based Chevron Oil Co. in the south. Chevron is currently building a \$1-billion pipeline from its oilfield near Bentin to the Red Sea. In response, the Pentagon recently sent a team of counterinsurgency experts to Khartoum to help combat the guerrillas.

The current insurrectionist revolt began last January, but it closely resembles the 17-year civil war fought by the Anyanya southern rebel movement against the central government until 1972. In the latest round of fighting, the rebels, who call themselves

Anyanya II, have seized at government military bases and disrupted vital road links. Anyanya II claims that the Khartoum government is breaking the development pledges it gave as part of the 1972 settlement. It also accuses the regional government of corruption and nepotism.

Khartoum has responded to the rebellion with a combination of ruthless armed repression and attempts at conciliation. The army has reacted to each rebel attack by burning villages and killing large numbers

of tribesmen. Khartoum's strategy recently that, as a result, more than 20,000 refugees from southern Sudan had crossed into its territory. At the same time, Nimeiry has made efforts to respond to the south's grievances. In June he divided the south into three administrative regions, a popular move with some tribes. But the majority of southerners condemned the divisions as an attempt to weaken their unity and increase the authority of the Muslim north. Then, in September, when Nimeiry announced that he would introduce Islamic law throughout the country, southern representatives walked out of the National Assembly in protest. Said the NSC consultant in Washington: "We are very puzzled by Nimeiry's motives."

Indeed, the Islamization policy has given the revolt a powerful new impetus. In mid-November the rebels seized and briefly held two Helwan working at Chevron's base at Bentin, in the Upper Nile region, and miles other foreign workers on a civil project 300 km to the southeast. It was the second hijacking taking in five months. In June rebels held a Canadian tank pilot, Martin Gervais, along with four other Western aid workers, for two weeks. As well, sabotage attacks on the pipelines have increased, and the government recently claimed to have killed or wounded 400 rebels who attacked an army base near Malak, on the Ethiopian border. Kyprianou said that only 13 rebels and seven soldiers died. The other casualties occurred when troops pursued the rebels into Malak and opened fire indiscriminately on the inhabitants.

Sudanese experts in Washington, however, deny that Khartoum has caused 1,000 troops with 150 Cuban advisers on the border. He also claimed that Ethiopia and Libya are arming the rebels. But

Washington experts in the rebels have obtained most of their arms from former Uganda dictator Idi Amin's warehouse in Sudan. In 1972, Reagan administration officials agreed that the rebellion poses an increasingly serious threat for Nimeiry. Privately, they said that the Sudanese president has survived at least nine coup attempts over the years, and U.S. officials said, "Nimeiry has fine lines, and he's still all of them up."

—CAROL BENDER in Khartoum, with William Louchner in Washington

Nimeiry, nine years of revolt



The death squads' soaring toll

When Guatemala's military leader Gen. Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores seized power from President Efraín Ríos Montt last August, he acted swiftly to deal with some of the nation's most pressing concerns. Mejia Victores announced that he would advance the date of elections for a constituent assembly, scheduled for next July, and he lifted the state of martial law declared by his predecessor. He also eased restrictions on the press. But many observers suspected that the new

leader, the current situation is beginning to resemble the dark years between 1975 and 1982, when the nation's Gen. Fernando Romeo Linares García ruled the country. Then, according to an Amnesty International report, more than 1,500 people died at the hands of death squads, which Linares García ran personally from an office in the presidential palace. Since Mejia Victores came to power in August, the death toll has risen alarmingly. In September the figure was 163, nearly twice

the Christian Democratic Party. Since August three of its officials have been killed and four abducted. In an angry statement last week the party declared "Enough of evasions. The violence that is not caused by subversive acts must also be ended."

Many Guatemalans also fear that the deteriorating human rights situation will convince large numbers of people to join one of the country's four left-wing guerrilla organizations. The guerrillas suffered a major reverse last year after Ríos Montt launched a counterinsurgency drive in their northern highlands strongholds. But now they are active again. "It is a race against time," said an army captain supervising a reas-



Death squad killing (left); Mejia Victores' killings on the increase and widespread indifference to U.S. pressure



president, a 35-year army veteran, also ordered a renewed outbreak of killings by the country's death squads.

Last week those suspicions deepened. U.S. Ambassador Frederic Chapin returned to Washington, ostensibly to spend Thanksgiving and Christmas with his family. But U.S. Embassy officials in Guatemala City said that he will likely spend much of his stay discussing the deteriorating political situation in Guatemala. They said that Chapin was outraged by the failure of the Mejia Victores government to clear up the murders of six Guatemalans associated with the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) literacy program. Three of the six were murdered in February in Huehuetenango province. The bodies of three others, who disappeared in October in San Marcos province, were found in a burned-out car on Nov. 12. The AID workers were apparently killed by members of the local security forces. "There is concern that urban and rural terrorism is escalating," said a U.S. official.

In October there were 226 killings. Last week the newspaper *Presencia Libre* published a list of killings and abductions in the first three weeks of November. It ran for two pages. At week's end, however, the sitting mayor of the University of San Carlos, Dr. Leopoldo Carrillo Ríos, 54, was shot three times in the car park at the faculty pharmacy. Said a foreign diplomat: "November so far has been terrible."

Mejia Victores' failure to control or eliminate death squads has soured his relations with the Roman Catholic Church—which tacitly approved of his August coup—and with many of the country's politicians. Church leaders were dismayed by his accusation on Nov. 7 that "We have had proof for some time that religious workers have been involved with the leftists." Later that day the bullet-riddled body of the respected superior of the Franciscan Order, Rev. Augusto Herrera Manríquez, was found on a highway on the outskirts of Guatemala City. The death squads have also attacked members of

strucions program in the province of El Quiché last week.

To appraise the human rights problem, the state department last week announced that it would send a team of investigators to the country. The U.S. Human Rights Commission's special investigator, Lord Calville, is already in Guatemala. In August a House Appropriations subcommittee turned down a Reagan administration request for \$4 million in military aid for Guatemala. But Mejia Victores' government remains defiant. Indeed, the military has insisted that it is no longer interested in reviving the Central American Defense Council, which the Reagan administration hoped to use to exert pressure on the Benetton government in Nicaragua. Because of this standoff, Guatemala may be entering another round of civil warfare, which has taken 50,000 lives since a CIA-backed coup ousted Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzmán, head of Guatemala's last democratically elected government, in 1954.

—PATRICK KELLY in Guatemala City

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Managua moves to limit the dangers

For months, the Sandinista government in Managua steadily refused to respond to U.S. demands that it adopt a more centrist—and pro-OS—stance in Central America. Instead, the Sandinistas reacted to the presence of 5,000 U.S. troops in neighboring Honduras and frequent incursions by CIA-backed counterrevolutionaries by showing off their own defenses. But last week, in a surprise move aimed at appeasing Washington, Managua announced that it has offered to send home some 2,000 Cuban military advisers along with 2,000 left-wing rebel leaders from neighboring El Salvador. Not only that, but the Sandinistas revealed that talks had begun with opposition parties in preparation for elections scheduled for 1985.

The action coincided with reports in Washington that the 12,000-strong Nicaraguan guerrilla force, known as "contra," could not achieve a military victory against the Sandinistas' regular army of 35,000 men, which is backed by a growing militia of 100,000. The Washington Post said that a CIA study declared that the contra had been unable to win enough support from the Nicaraguan population to overthrow the Sandinistas. Still, the intelligence report said that the contra's harassment, from bases in Honduras and Costa Rica, had forced the Sandinistas to conclude that they would no longer offer to support El Salvador's guerrillas.

Diplomatic success in the Nicaraguan capital said that the new measures toward halting elections was a response to criticism from the junta's West European Socialist supporters. As well, the sources said the three small parties allied to the Sandinistas had threatened to leave the coalition unless the junta sped up election preparations.

Sources in Managua said that the repatriation of 1,200 Cuban teachers, construction workers and advisers over the past three weeks is a further attempt by the Sandinistas to placate Washington. A 25-point peace plan for the region, put forward by the four-nation Contadora group, calls for the withdrawal of all foreign military advisers. Diplomats said that the Cuban teacher-led departures was a first step. But President Ronald Reagan's administration remained skeptical. Clearly, the Sandinistas will have to take even more concrete measures in order to reassure their U.S. critics.

—DAVID HENRY in Toronto, with Paul ZIMMER in Guatemala City.



Israel arriving home: Arafat's future remained uncertain—as did that of the PLO

LEBANON

A pause in the bloodletting

In the sprawling Ansur prison camp near the southern Lebanese town of Nabatiyah, 4,000 Lebanese and Palestinian former guerrillas fanned and hugged each other with joy as they learned of their release. At an airstrip near Tel Aviv, cheering friends crushed on Israeli soldiers last week as they drove to a limousine and onto reception after a sea and air journey from captivity in the northern Lebanese part of Tripoli. There was a sense of triumph, too, for embattled Palestinian Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat, who negotiated the exchange as his British loyalists fought off PLO rebels who were determined to drive them from Tripoli. Said Arafat: "This is the miracle of the Palestinian revolution. Despite the heavy shelling, we succeeded in passing [through] the bombardment safely."

For Arafat, the exchange was not the only cause for rejoicing. In Damascus, Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faisal and his Syrian counterpart, Abdel Halim Khaddam, announced an agreement for the withdrawal of the warring PLO factions from Tripoli and surrounding areas over the next two weeks. The agreement called for a dialogue between Arafat's supporters and the rebels to settle their differences. It was not immediately clear whether the deal also called for Arafat's own departure from Lebanon. But the involvement of Syria, the PLO militants' main supporter in the settlements, indicated the end of the three-week siege of Tripoli might be in sight. Last week only the poor and the widowed remained in the war-ravaged

city. During the battle an estimated 300,000 civilians—40 per cent of the population—sought refuge in the nearby hills. Those who remained were skeptical that the ceasefire would last. And PLO rebel leader Abu Khader Imshak called for withdrawal from the Beqda and Nahr al-Bared refugee camps near Tripoli following the Damascus agreement.

Slightly 5,000 people have been wounded, and 750 others have been killed, in Tripoli. The once peaceful port is peppered with shell holes and rubble. Western observers said that local citizens wanted Arafat to leave, but he remained under the protection of Shafi Bared Shaban, a Sunni Muslim like Arafat, a leader of the fundamentalist Islamic Jihadist Movement and the de facto ruler of the city.

For their part, the Israelis hoped that Arafat would still use the struggle for control of the Palestinian movement. Jerusalem is concerned by the shock of political credibility that Arafat managed to wrap around the PLO. For the Israelis, that is a greater problem than the military threat posed by Arafat's potential successors.

The Israelis also intend get their way. Even if the scheduled Palestinian withdrawal from Tripoli proceeds without incident, negotiations between the warring factions are certain to be better. Rebel leaders have called for Arafat to be put on trial, and, while such a development is unlikely, he may find the pressure on him to step down too strong to resist.

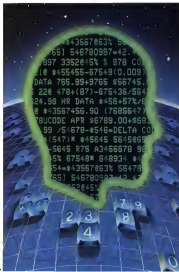
—JAMES WILKINSON in Beirut, with David Bernstein in Jerusalem.

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ROYAL BANK

The eastern side of the energy program

By Michael Chagnon

While the acronym NEP is the equivalent of a four-letter word in the minds of most western Canadians, in the Atlantic region it is greeted like a benediction. Last week there was further support for the aquas when the Canadian-owned Hume Oil Co. Ltd. began a \$50-million project in the shallow waters of the Be-

seanort and Beaufort basins receiving nearly 25 per cent of expenses. "The NEP makes everybody equal," says energy analyst Roger Voyer of the Canadian Institute for Economic Policy. "Under a tax system, it is usually the big companies with the big clout that dominate."

In the 14 years before the Trudeau government announced the NEP in November, 1980, companies drilled 142

wells on the Canadian east coast that Ottawa was wasting its money in the offshore energy play off the East Coast. "National priorities have become skewed," he said. "It would be easier, quicker and less expensive to promote further production from Alberta." And Ed Zelenyuk, an energy analyst with Gordian Securities Ltd. of Calgary, calls the NEP grants "a gross misdirection of capital." He complains that the program concentrates on exploration at the expense of developing already proven reserves.

Because of the East-West split, the NEP has become a subject loaded with danger for politicians. When federal Progressive Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney recently told an enthusiastic Calgary audience of voters that he would dismantle much of the NEP if he became prime minister, he set nerves on edge on the East Coast, where Newfoundland's Progressive Conservative premier, Brian Peckford, cautioned against a full-scale restructuring of the policy.

Politicians and business leaders in the region, especially in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, are counting on nearby oil and gas discoveries to free them from dependence on expensive imports of crude oil (which cost the federal government \$1.1 million a year in subsidies). Energy prices will not necessarily fall with the development of East Coast petroleum reserves, but more of that money will stay in

the region. As well, they see as little as a way to create jobs and reduce provincial deficits. Nova Scotia's deficit, for example, has recently exceeded \$2 billion, and Premier John Buchanan has all but staked his political career on the expectation that offshore revenues will provide major financial relief for his government's coffers. Ironically, Buchanan, at this year's conference of provincial premiers, was one of the most strident critics of federal interference in the economy. But when it comes to the National Energy Program, his western counterparts are the only ones who can complain.

Not surprisingly, western critics are not happy with the statistics. They blame NEP grants for siphoning off investment capital and hobbling oil and gas enterprises in their region, where total industry expenditures have fallen from \$4.5 billion in 1980 to \$2.2 billion last year. Jim Gray, vice-president of Canadian Hunter Exploration Ltd. of Calgary, recently told the royal com-



PHILIPS: The NEP has become a subject filled with danger

missioner in St. John's, Canada-owned Hume Oil Operations Ltd. and Bow Valley Industries Ltd. announced last month that they would soon begin drilling on 47 million acres of Grand Banks oil land controlled by Hume Oil Canada Ltd., the biggest such "farm-in" arrangement in Canadian history. "There's no doubt that without the NEP it would be impossible for Hume-Bow Valley to get into a situation like this," said Hume-Bow Valley President Robert Papenicht.

When the federal government introduced the NEP in 1980, one of its goals was to encourage more Canadian companies to attempt frontier exploration for oil and gas—until then almost exclusively the province of the large foreign-owned majors. Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, as well as the Atlantic provinces, were the only areas where the NEP made it possible for smaller Canadian firms to grow by replacing a system of tax write-offs with grants to offset their expenses. That meant that for the first time companies with relatively small tax bills—and therefore little to gain from write-offs—could go to work in the horrendously expensive federally owned frontiers in the Beaufort Sea, the Arctic Islands and in the seas off Labrador, Newfoundland and Nova Scotia. Grants provided under the Petroleum Incentives Program (PIP) cover as much as 80 per cent of the expense of drilling a well on the frontier if the consortium of companies is 75-per-cent Canadian-owned, while wells in the western sedimentary basin in Alberta

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Donkey depot picket line: the bitterness has been fueled by Greyhound's attempt to maintain service—however halting

A bitter clash on the highways

Two big red-white-and-blue buses are as much a part of the U.S. landscape as police cars or tractor trailers. But as Greyhound Lines has entered its fourth week of a drivers' and terminal workers' strike, riding its buses was more akin to boarding a stagecoach in the Wild West. In more than a dozen incidents, from San Francisco to Boston, strikers attacked the buses, driven by nonunionized outsiders, shooting at them or pelting them with sticks and stones.

The more that had 12,500 members of the Amalgamated Transit Union to walk off the job on Nov. 2 is pay and benefit cutbacks. Greyhound says that with increased competition on intercity service due to deregulation, it cannot compete with smaller bus services, whose average salaries are slightly more than half of Greyhound's. And it demanded that the drivers accept a 9.6-per-cent reduction in their average salaries of \$35,744 (U.S.). That was cut, combined with reduced benefits, the union agreed, would mean an income loss of nearly 25 per cent. And although the company modified its position last week, agreeing to accept a 7.6-per-cent drop in salaries combined with its original benefit cutback proposal, the strike showed no signs of ending. Voting on the second offer began last week, but the union's executive strongly recommended that its members turn the proposal down.

The bitterness has been fueled by Greyhound's attempt to maintain service—however halting. By week's end

buses were running in 27 states under the control of 1,200 non-drivers and station personnel. But even the lure of half-price fares failed to fill them. Greyhound is claiming an average of 38 passengers per run, compared with the seasonal average of 80. As well, it said that 1,508 union members—drivers and terminal workers—had returned to work. For their part, union officials said that only a few hundred of their mem-

As Greyhound entered its fourth week of a strike, riding its buses was akin to boarding a Wild West stagecoach

bers have returned to work and that most Greyhound runs carry only two or three passengers. The strike has had reaching effects. Until this month, the Phoenix, Ariz.-based bus carried 68 per cent of U.S. intercity bus passengers—more than 150,000 people a day on 5,800 buses.

The employees assert that the bus company is out to break the strike. To break the strike, it seems to company statements promising that all new drivers employed to help break the strike will be kept on staff. At the same time, senior Greyhound officials say that the service will be back to normal within three months, even if the without continues. "If they are deter-

mined to last us, and this drags on, and we cannot get a settlement, we are out and we are finished," said a union spokesman. "But if we give in, we will be at the company's mercy. I tell you, we are between a rock and a hard place."

When the buses began rolling on Nov. 17, anger quickly burst into violence. One scuffling driver in San Antonio, Tex., was arrested last week and charged with shooting at a Greyhound bus and its driver. No one was injured. At the same time, Indiana state police were continuing their search for a suspect in a spring attack on a bus, and the FBI was investigating an incident in which a bus en route from New Orleans to Mobile, Ala., was fired on.

Drivers for Greyhound Lines of Canada Ltd.—which is 66-per-cent owned by the U.S. firm—belong to the same union but they are not on strike. Still, at least one bus driven by a U.S. driver was turned away from the Vancouver depot by 30 chanting protesters.

As a result of union charges that the strike leaders are inexperienced, unsafe drivers, the U.S. government has revoked the qualifications of all new Greyhound workers and ruled that they meet safety standards. Said Frederick Duzinski, Greyhound Lines president: "The result of the federal inspection was a dress bill of health. It should lay to rest any residual concerns about the ability of our newly hired drivers." Greyhound Chairman John Teets was delighted with the progress made at getting buses back on the road. Said company spokesman Dorothy Lennox: "High praise—just like a 100-mile balloon."

—WILLIAM LUTHEIN in Washington

A new turn in the Dome drama

A few months of behind-the-scenes wheeling and some last-minute script changes, the riveting drama of Dome Petroleum Ltd. resumes in Calgary this week. The western oil and gas giant, considered by some businessmen to be the embodiment of sheer entrepreneurial nerve, was last destroyed last year when its growth ascended its ability to pay (page 87). Because it also disrupted the federal National Energy Program, Ottawa had to come to the rescue. Since then, a new upper management and the promise of improved natural gas markets have brightened Dome's prospects. But many observers contend that the plan will not work without more government aid.

A key element in Dome's sell-off plan is expected to be the sale of \$600 million to \$700 million in shares to the public. Despite Dome's well-publicized disasters and a debt of \$6.5 billion, it still retains the affection of some investors. Its shares now trade at about \$4.55, far below the \$10-plus value of three years ago, but analysts say that they are relatively stable. Said Donald Whistler of Alfred Eustice & Co Ltd. in Toronto: "People do not realize how serious the problem at Dome is. It has a reputation that still exists to this day, beyond all else."

Dome's attractions also include the fact that four of Canada's main chartered banks loaned the firm so much money that they cannot afford to let it collapse. And, although it was Dome's overly ambitious acquisition program that created the severe difficulties, those policies did leave the company with one of the largest oil and gas holdings in Canada.

It is a mark of Dome's astonishing recovery that it has managed to sign off its creditors for more than a year, giving itself time to plan a revival. The alternative, outlined in the tentative deal Dome signed with Ottawa last September, is a \$1.5-billion bailout, with \$600 million coming from federal government bonds. Many Calgary oilmen and Dome officials believe that federal intervention will destroy the company. Once granted as the "chicken instrument" of the NEP, Dome now appears in some corners in Ottawa as just another corporate welfare case. And Calgary analyst Ian Doug, publisher of an industry newsletter "This was as if the government spotted a sick patient on the operating table and came along and offered it quinine." But now Dome may be able to shake Mr. Teets. "Reports of my death are greatly exaggerated."

—SHARON KILBY in Toronto

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Reuters London news room: concerns that the desire for profit will cut service.

Gold digging in the news trade

By Ian Austin

For most of the 20th century the London-based Reuters Ltd's news agency has been widely respected for the fast, accurate coverage that it dispensed to newspapers, magazines and broadcasters around the world. But until recently the glories of the news operation largely obscured a dramatic reversal in the fortunes of an enterprise that had to be saved from financial ruin in 1981. Reuters, despite its structure as a nonprofit trust, has become a gold mine.

For Reuters' owners—a complex consortium of British, Australian and New Zealand-based media interests—the development is a welcome one. Reuters is estimated to be worth \$2.5 billion, and they want to cash in on the profits. This month they hope to start a process that will make the agency a company that will share with shares traded on the London Stock Exchange. The offering could mean that millions of dollars will flow into the company's coffers, but many are concerned that the agency itself may be the ultimate loss. The current ownership arrangement assumes the agency's independence. But subscribers to the service worry that the shareholders' desire for profit will force the agency to reduce the emphasis that it places on newsgathering.

It is not the general news service, which remains quiet and not particularly profitable, that has made Reuters rich. Instead, 98 per cent of the agency's \$87-million pre-tax profit last year came

from a service that has only flourished in the past decade. Rather than covering all the world's affairs for the media, the news operation offers corporations rapid, highly specialized statistics and information.

The profitable new enterprise is largely a product of the recent upsurge in the world's financial markets. The first of the financial services, which provided U.S. and European stock prices on video screens, was set up in 1964, but it did not begin to flourish until 1973.

That year the company started to monitor second-by-second changes in currency markets around the world and it offered them, initially to the subscribers. But the growing volatility of money markets, combined with the first of the Middle East oil price shocks, rapidly made the service a sought-after source. Currently, it fishes numbers and news about U.S. financial markets to 12,000 subscribers.

For its part, Reuters denies the charges that the financial service will reduce the scope of its news operation. Indeed, the agency recently has opened six new bureaus and reorganized its news department.

Still, the increased emphasis on serving businesses probably would have pleased the firm's founder, Paul Julius Reuter. In fact, his original operation—set up in 1850—carried only share prices and news to European businessmen. He used 40 carrier pigeons, which moved Reuter dispatches much faster than the trains that his competitors relied on.

After the German-born Reuter moved to London, the agency expanded dramatically, helped by improvements in communications technology and a growing interest by newspapers in foreign news, at least until the Depression of the 1930s forced Reuters' clients to cut back expenditures. Then the war that followed added to the agency's financial woes by cutting it off from a large number of clients. Rather than accept through government aid to stay afloat in 1940, Reuters entered its independence by setting up an arrangement under which several newspaper interests bought shares in a trust where they could not be treated as an investment.

It is that original agreement that has come back to haunt the press barons. Anxious to cash in on the agency's treasure chest (Robert Harbottle's News International Ltd., for one, has bought one of the Times of London among its holdings—could not \$26 million out of a share offering), the newspaper barons argue that the company is governed by a 1603 shareholders' agreement. On that basis, they say, they can get ahead as planned at a board of directors meeting on Dec. 14 and start the process of selling stock.

Regardless of what the board does this month, opponents of the share plan may block the media owners' plan. Already, former British prime minister James Callaghan has argued that the agency's owners are bound by the 1961 agreement and that they need the permission of Reuters' Lord Chief Justice for a sell-off. Even if the opponents are unsuccessful, the current shareholders' plan still faces another hurdle. Overseeing the board's operation is a panel of 20 trustees. Before selling on any recommendation by the owners, the trustees say that they will review the directors' final position. Still, with the stakes running at over \$1.6 billion and the trustees owing their appointments to Reuters' directors, it seems unlikely that the press owners' plans will be thwarted. ☐



Reuter offered speed

Protecting the minorities

By Peter C. Newman

A epic battle between a Montreal stockbroker and a Calgary oilman is being resolved this month in a precedent-shattering settlement that promises a better deal for minority shareholders in future take-over fights. Donnell Dinley, the head of Mason Pomeroy & Co., Inc., has won his battle with Bob Sherrin's Turbo Resources Ltd., which owned 50 per cent of as much as \$56 million to the minority shareholders of Meridian Explorations Ltd., taken over by Turbo in 1981.

Out of that two-year confrontation, which has seen some of the fiercest fighting in Canadian corporate history, a new set of rules governing offers to minority shareholders has emerged. As a result of this investigation into the case, lawyers hired by the Ontario Securities Commission (OSC) have recommended a significantly improved set of ground rules for individual holders of stock caught in takeover battles. The new rules, if accepted by securities commissions across the country, would shift present follow-up procedures, which now become operative only if at least 20 per cent of a publicly traded company is bought in a process of 15 per cent or more over the prevailing market price. Instead, under the new regulations, anyone who owns less than 20 per cent of voting shares would be prohibited from paying more than 15 per cent above market value to force more than 15 shareholders. Follow-up offers would have to be identical and not, as current regulations vaguely state, "equivalent" to the original bids.

These and some other suggestions, being formalized by the Securities Industry Committee on Takeover Bids, headed by Montreal Exchange President Pierre Lortie, should help to prevent the reputation of the Meridian case as "Nobody will try this kind of step again," vowed Dinley, who spent nearly \$400,000 of his own funds in legal fees on the case.

It all began in 1981, when Sherrin, then riding high on the operating boom of Turbo, bought 27.7 per cent of Meridian from John Adams, a resident of Nassau, for \$25 a share. A floor offer was made to bring Turbo up to controlling ownership on a pro-rata basis. At the time, Sherrin promised that a follow-up bid for the balance of the stock would be made within 30 days. In the interval the oil business turned sour, and Turbo went nearly \$1 billion into debt and re-

quested a delay. The price of Turbo's shares plummeted, the company had no cash, and it could raise no stock for any kind of meaningful purchase beyond Meridian's vocal minority. In January, 1982, Turbo asked the Meridian stockholders to sell in Bankers, its subsidiary, which owned stock in an Arctic mine called Pelorus, run by Collins Ltd. "It was a sham offer," Sherrin insists. "They were just diluting the value of the Meridian shares. And if they had been allowed to go ahead, any stock op-



Dinley, nobody will try it again

erator could have bought a major controlling block of a company, then sold its ownership in a more or less worthless operation to make a follow-up bid."

The OSC stepped in, and a long argument ensued about the real value of the Bankers stock. Alternative schemes were proposed by Turbo, then effectively bankrupt and accused that Meridian's assets be sold. Finally, in February, 1982, Turbo decided to sell its holdings in Bankers as the first step in reducing its own debts. Because that would have deprived Meridian share-

holders of any source from which Turbo could have topped up its offer, the one-shotted a step-trader order on both Meridian and Bankers. Meridian, which is a viable and profitable oil exploration company and gas producer, was left so badly by this whole process that its stock dropped to a low of \$4.08 from \$12.00. The company's price for the first time in 1982 fell below \$5.00 as owners of 354 million shares had none left to become Meridian's chief executive officer and, incidentally, 1984 president of the Calgary Chamber of Commerce.

Sherrin's Turbo has yet to pay any interest on the \$500 million in loans it has outstanding (mainly from the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce), other creditors have been striking its every move. When Turbo finally agreed to pay out the \$25 million, it forced the Meridian minority holders—by selling its Bankers stock—Canada Trusts Mortgage Co. and Guarantee Trust Co. (owed \$25 million plus interest) to object and tried to put the company into receivership. Turbo had agreed to pay \$150 million back to the Commerce but had made no special provision for the trust companies.

The Alberta Court of Queen's Bench promptly denied the trust companies' bid for the appointment of a receiver to grab Turbo's assets, allowing the Meridian minority offer to proceed. Turbo now has until Feb. 1 to complete the sale of its Bankers holdings (estimated to be worth more than \$500 million) and settle with the Meridian minority.

The case has aroused the passions of everyone involved and has complicated Turbo's own life-saving strategy. But it has helped to vindicate the strong stewardship of Peter Day at the OSC. It was his insistence on enforcing the restraining order against Turbo's intended sale of its Bankers holdings without taking the Meridian shareholders into proper account that turned out to be the most important move in resolving the tricky case.

Dinley, who is ordinarily an unapproachable money man with a smooth salesman's manner, can hardly contain his glee. "It has been a very tough fight," he says, "but I feel that minority shareholders operate in enough of a jungle without having to face this kind of maneuver. Allowing Turbo to get away with it would have helped destroy the process of capital formation on which our whole free enterprise system is ultimately based."

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Winnipeg Jets losing another game; the city and the province may bail out the team.

SPORTS

The Jets' uncertain future

The Winnipeg Jets, dogged by losses and off the ice, may have found an unlikely savior—Manitoba's new government. That president Barry Shenkman, one of eight team owners, weary of yearly million-dollar deficits, warned that he will sell the club, possibly to another city, if he cannot find a way to pull the National Hockey League team out of its monetary crisis. Then, Winnipeg Mayor William Stein and Premier Howard Pawley, facing a loss of tourist revenue—and potential pride—formed an ad hoc task force to study the club's woes. But Pawley quickly dismissed rumors of a government takeover. "We have enough problems running the economy," he declared.

As a result, the task force will likely focus on indirect assistance. But the Jets' problems are not confined to money. The youthful team, which is at the bottom of the NHL's Division, needs a morale boost almost as urgently as the club. Shenkman says that the Jets' economic crisis is a result of playing in a small market and in a building that cannot generate enough revenue. "If we sold every seat, we'd break even. We cannot do that, so we can't even break even," he said. To remain in Winnipeg (the team has already had one offer from Saskatoon) the club needs to either cut costs or increase revenue. At the same time, the city-owned Winnipeg Enterprises Corp., the Jets' land-

lord, changes the team a substantial rental fee to pay off an \$8-million debt incurred during the 1979 expansion of the 15,300-seat Winnipeg Arena. The company controls the parking lot and concession stands. A share in concession revenues would help the team, but Enterprises Corp. is reluctant to divide beer and hot dog profits while carrying such a heavy debt. Staff Alan Engelson, executive director of the NHL Players' Association, of the Jets dilemma. "It is difficult to argue when you have parking and concession issues."

The task force will probably recommend that the city and province give Winnipeg Enterprises an annual \$1.5-million subsidy. That sum would reflect the corporation of its debt load and enable it to arrive a new rental or revenue sharing agreement with the Jets. The plan would be acceptable to Shenkman and the corporation, which is offering the club a "rental" grant of \$200,000.

The Philadelphia Flyers, Washington Capitals and St. Louis Blues have also experienced serious financial problems this year. But only the Jets may find relief with government assistance. And the Jets are hoping for a swift, effective and lasting resolution. "It would be a sad day when Barry Shenkman is not in the Hall," said Engelson. "But no matter how rich you are, you get tired of losing money."

—ANDREW NEUFELD in Winnipeg

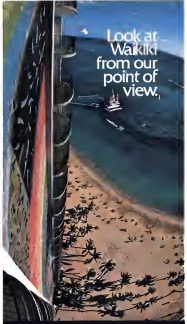
A thumbs-up for a rough sport

The spotlight trained on such world champions as Toronto's Shawn O'Sullivan and Calgary's Willie DeWitt has finally illuminated the shadow corners of Canadian boxing. Last week reports released in Nova Scotia and Ontario criticized the perfunctory squabbles, antiquated training techniques and lax application of inadequate rules that have created an unacceptable safety risk for Canadian boxers.

In Halifax the Nova Scotia Boxing Authority gave notice that, beginning in early 1984, it will make medical and fight history "passports" and then-issue gloves mandatory for professional boxers. The authority voluntarily adopted the measures—passports to prevent inappropriate mistakes and then-issue gloves to stop accidental eye injuries. While the effectiveness of the new gloves is still in doubt, the willingness of the Nova Scotia body to embrace change was in sharp contrast to the reluctance of Ontario's amateur boxing authority. After a year of study, an amateur boxing committee advanced a *fatal* of recommendations, including mandatory passports, contact forms, a minimum age limit and coaching certification. But the report endorsed the existing rules of Boxing Ontario, the largest provincial governing body, even though it was less happy about the agency's record in enforcing the regulations. Committee Chairman Bruce Kidd noted that the rules "provide a reasonable standard." He added, "We cannot expect the same degree of confidence in the enforcement of the rules, however."

As it is under the pet, the day before the report was released, Boxing Ontario allowed three boxes of different weight classes to fight each other, in contravention of its own rules. The recommendations may have been the most severe, but they were upstaged by other items in the report. Kidd said his committee looked into the question of women's boxing and recommended that it should be allowed. The committee also pondered the upright abilities of amateur boxing. "We're against on this," said Kidd. Calling for further study, the report states, "It can be shown at present that the risks of serious injury in amateur boxing are acceptably high. We believe those persons who dislike boxing have no right to prohibit the activity among those who wish to enjoy it." Despite the upsurge around the world in the role of women's boxing, boxing is not down for the count in Canada.

—EDMUND WRIGHT in Toronto



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Launching Europe's Spacelab

This week's anticipated launch of the space shuttle Columbia, carrying the European-designed research capsule Spacelab, represents a significant boost to the space programs of both major partners. For the National Aeronautics and Space Administration it signals a return to pure scientific research, and it is the first step toward constructing and maintaining a manned orbiting space station since NASA abandoned the project in 1970. But for the European Space Agency (ESA), which spent \$1 billion over a decade to develop and build Spacelab, the project provides a long-awaited demonstration of Europe's emerging expertise in space technology.



Shuttle with Spacelab and payload; Lichtenberg (left), Merbold, the largest crew for a mission

The billion-dollar, reusable, pressurized aluminum cylinder nicknamed Spacelab is bolted into the cargo bay of the Columbia like a camper on a pickup truck. It will be the staging area for 70 scientific experiments during the planned five-day mission. Besides the use of Spacelab, the ninth mission of the shuttle boasts a variety of other firsts. The six-man crew will include the first so-called "payload specialists," two space technicians, West German physicist Ulf Merbold, 46, and U.S. biomedical engineer Byron Lichtenberg, 36, are the first nonprofessional astronauts to travel into space. The full-time astronauts include mission commander John Young, pilot Gregory B. Boush, and mission specialist Owen Garret and Robert L. Parker, who will help to operate Spacelab and assist with experiments. If the flight is successful, it will also represent the largest shuttle crew sent aloft and the longest mission.

But the highlight of the flight will be the scientific work. The payload specialists will conduct more than 70 experiments for scientists in Western Europe, the United States and Japan. Among them: examinations of how plants such as seedlings grow in weightless conditions and experiments in the production of specialized alloys and crystals in the vacuum of outer space. Some scientists speculate that the metal tests could herald the birth of new industries that might manufacture an exotic range of new space alloys.



The 28,220-lb Spacelab is larger and more sophisticated than NASA's Skylab, the orbiting scientific work station which the United States sent aloft by rocket in 1973 and which was home to three successive teams of U.S. astronauts. Spacelab was built in West Germany, and it contains a work area large enough to accommodate the two mission specialists, who crawl into the unit along a tunnel connected to the crew's main living quarters in the shuttle cockpit. On a pallet in the tail of the

shuttle's cargo bay there is an array of astronomical telescopes, solar telescopes and an electron beam accelerator to study the Earth's ionosphere. One of Western Europe's aims was to prove to the United States that it could be a reliable partner in space projects. The ESA, whose members include France, West Germany, Britain and Italy, appears to have achieved the goal. Officials at NASA say that the engineering effort behind the Spacelab development has impressed them.

Still, the birth of the Spacelab was not as easy as it seems. After the high cost of the Vietnam War resulted in the jinking of NASA's plans to build a \$30-billion space platform in the early 1970s, the United States sought the participation of other governments in sharing the costs of space exploration. In 1975 it signed an agreement with the predecessor of the ESA in which the Europeans agreed to build a Spacelab that would be launched by U.S. rockets. In return, NASA agreed to buy one Spacelab from the Europeans. In the intervening years inflation and recession plagued both partners. In 1978 the Carter administration chopped the U.S. budget for Spacelab research to \$30 million from \$110 million. And as the cost of Spacelab crept 40 per cent over budget to \$1.17 billion, the European partners became increasingly cautious. As a result, the danger to which Spacelab will be used remains unclear. The United States has firm plans for at least two

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more Spanish missions in 1986 and 1988. And West Germany, which has fueled more than half the development bill for Spacelab, will finance its own flight in 1993. At the same time, four other European-financed trips are on hold, and the kits will double or further increase only after evaluating the success of the first flight.

A major problem is the fact that without expensive modifications Spacelab can stay in orbit for no more than about 10 days. For their part, international space scientists would like the much longer periods in which to do experiments. Displaced now, the officials "Spacelab is so darned big that in order to make a mission economical you have to fill it up." And a large volume of experimental hardware is not always the first priority or is the cost of experiments who would prefer smaller platforms holding experiments in specific disciplines.

In fact, European space planners are now questioning whether they need instruments to supervise experiments outside the atmosphere at all. As a follow-up to Spacelab, the ESA is spending \$180 million on a much smaller, unnamed platform called EUREKA, which should make its first shuttle flight in 1987. The vehicle will jettison much from the cargo bay, leaving it to space for as long as eight months before returning to pick it up. Unlike Spacelab, EUREKA has its own propulsion system and power supply and can enter by itself in space out of the support of the shuttle. For the 1987 flight, the ESA is planning experiments in materials processing and biology that will be largely automatic. Another major difference with Spacelab is cost. A EUREKA release that carries two tons of experiments for half a year will cost about \$30 million, compared to \$180 million for a Spacelab flight.

Canada also has a role to play in the new round of space science. The Spacelab mission is scheduled to end on Dec. 7, and the National Research Council, which oversees the Canadian space program, has chosen that day to announce the names of the six successful applicants of 4,388 external who will train for the next two years to become the first Canadian astronauts. The NRC will choose the candidates to fly as payload specialists on the shuttle, and two Canadian experiments will take place on separate flights which will likely begin in 1986. The first will be an experiment in studying marine organisms, and the second will work with the XRC-developed Space Vulture Shuttle navigation system. As a result, both potential astronauts and Canadian space scientists will be monitoring the first flight of the Spacelab with even more interest than usual.

—PETER MARSH in London

JUSTICE

The cost of a bad verdict

A new legal tradition has begun brewing for Donald Marshall Jr., who spent 11 years in jail for a murder he did not commit. Last May the 30-year-old Miikmaq Indian was acquitted in the re-hearing of a 1975 murder case in which he had been convicted of killing his friend, Ronald Soble, in Sydney, N.S. There, last week, 75-year-old former justice Roy Eves was sentenced to five years in jail after being convicted of manslaughter in the Soble case. Eves was later released on bail pending an appeal. Now Marshall, who is married, has a plan for his future: to sue the federal or provincial government.

And it is a vital issue to settle, he added, because "I know that has been investigated, then I think it should be made clearer to the attorney general that [his department] is responsible." Both governments could compensate Marshall if they wished to, through legislation or "ex gratia" payments which carry no admission of guilt. But federal Justice Minister Mark MacGuigan said last month that it would not be "very good federalism" for Ottawa to pay Marshall. The provincial government promised him, MacGuigan said, and it should compensate him. For his part, Harry Bow, who was provincial attorney



Marshall who pays for 11 lost years in prison and \$82,000 in legal debts?

general to pay his legal bills, which exceed \$85,000. He is also demanding something that would set a precedent in Canadian law—financial compensation for his 11 lost years.

Marshall's lawyer, Felix Cliche, asked Nova Scotia Attorney General Ronald Giffin last week to order an inquiry into the 1971 police investigation and court case. Key witnesses in the trial have all recently stated under oath that police forced them to lie in order to convict Marshall. Still, the Nova Scotia Supreme Court justices who acquitted Marshall seven months ago said that he was partly responsible for his own misfortune because he had participated in the dragging during which Soble died, but had not admitted that in court. Now Cliche argues that the issue of Marshall's participation can only be clarified with an inquiry

general until he left the job on Nov. 6, maintained that the federal government shared responsibility in the case because of its jurisdiction over Indians. Bow's replacement, Giffin, has so far refused to comment on the case.

Meanwhile, Marshall and his lawyers are also pursuing their case on another front. They have drawn up a suit against the city of Sydney and the two detectives who investigated the case in 1971. "But we will not serve it until we see what the government does," said Cliche. Twenty months after his release from prison, Donald Marshall Jr. is determined to stop paying the price for another man's crime. "You cannot sweep that one under the carpet," said Cliche. "If you do, then you will put the entire system of criminal justice into disrepute."

—MICHAEL CLAYTON in Halifax

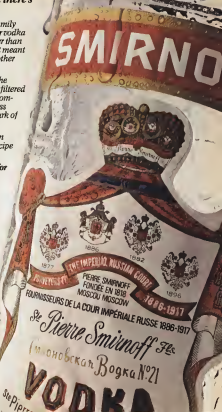
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Matchmaker to the rich



Harris: for an introduction to 'the right person,' \$100,000 is not too much

Canadians know, without even tuning into Dallas, that the super-rich have marriage problems too. The burgeoning divorce industry—Statistics Canada last month reported a 55-per-cent increase in the past five years—cover rich and poor alike. Besides, even the popular notion that divorced rich is more pleasant than divorced and broke is not necessarily right, according to Mitchell Harris, a 35-year-old Toronto entrepreneur who caters to the mating problems of millionaires. Another client that is close to the mark, he believes, is that "it's lonely at the top." So lonely, in fact, that his clients are willing to pay \$300,000 each for his services.

Harris spends his time immersed in clients' case studies, which read like the plot lines of TV soaps—a lonely, divorced 30-year-old Michigan woman who designs prosthetics; a young blonde millionaire who turned around the family business and now wants to meet Miss Right; a 70-year-old with a fortune and the desire for a new mate. Harris' current career began six months ago, while he was still living with his mother in North Toronto. His new talk show host, Phil Donkai, interviewing Neil Sheldon, also 35, who had become a millionaire with Easomatch, a Florida firm that he had founded just four years previously to help rich people meet and mate. Sheldon, a college dropout and former sales pro, got the

idea while working in an oil and gas brokerage firm in Dallas. A female client told him to forget about finding her another million—he already had 20. What she needed was to meet the right man. For that service she would pay \$100,000. Sheldon has never looked back. He told Donkai, he had succeeded in the creation of 30 matches.

Wildly enthusiastic, Harris quickly telephoned Sheldon, flew to Florida and returned to Toronto to open an Easomatch office to serve Canada and the northern United States. By the time his training as Sheldon's understudy officially ended last month, he had successfully matched six clients. Now, both Harris and Sheldon work seven days a week to keep up with the demand, and they hope to open offices in Vancouver, Paris and London next year. Every time they appear on another local show their network of possible clients and of wealthy dates—the people they screen first of charge as possible mates for their clients—explodes, sometimes into as many as 1,000 letters a week.

Harris and Sheldon skillfully feed the media appetite for glitzy star-studded love and power. But their real challenge is making successful matches. Their clients, 50 per cent of whom are women, often approach Easomatch at the age of 30, searching and restless. To them, the \$300,000 that they pay once they are sure that they have met the right person is not a major con-

cure. "Born 'a little substantial,'" said one 37-year-old Toronto businesswoman, who is happily passing through the "pre-commitment" stage with someone he met through Easomatch. "But it is nothing compared to the divorce settlement I paid, age to the moment I will spend in the next 10 years in pursuit of my pleasures. If an spending the money up front I find the right person for a sharing and loving relationship, it is money well spent."

The businessman, who requested anonymity, is a constant traveler and he said his decision to go to Easomatch was a practical one. "I learned a long time ago that if you want the best," he said, "go to the people who handle it rather than trying to do it on your own." The agency takes care of all the time-consuming evaluations about the suitability of a potential partner—and it feeds off gold diggers. Said the grateful businessman: "I am not interested in becoming involved with someone who regards me as a mere ticket."

Anonymous evaluations imposed on both clients and candidates seem to be at the heart of Easomatch's success. Harris, a graduate in economics and geography of Toronto's York University, surveyed every dating service he could find when he started out six months ago and he was not impressed. "They don't even look at marital status as evidence of eligibility, let alone any of the other issues," he said. Easomatch works only with clients and candidates who are mentally and physically healthy, financially stable, married or single, and a signpost. To point psychological screening are only the beginning of one-on-one consultations over the course of months before a single introduction is made. By the time two parties meet, they will have researched through Harris virtually every issue that is important to them—concerns are, finances, lifestyle or long and short-term goals. As a result, said Harris, at that first meeting "the chemistry is often overwhelming."

As for Harris' youth, he said that most people's automatic prejudice against it quickly disappears. "What is required is an incredible ability to tune in, to listen," he said. "I know their eyes, their ears. I enter their brains. Six months ago I just knew I would be good at this. Now I have a track record." Still a bachelor who says he has no time to devote to a relationship, Harris looks forward to one day enjoying Easomatch himself, because "every one needs to go through this kind of serious focusing on themselves and anyone they might choose to mate with." Otherwise, he noted, with as eye on over-giving members of divorce, marriage "is just a shot in the dark."

—DANN MAC DONALD in Toronto.

MEDICINE

Searching for the male Pill

When oral birth control pills for women became available in 1959, they guaranteed women with unprecedented sexual freedom. They also, in large measure, freed men from the responsibility of contraception. Now, Canadian scientists, and researchers from other countries as well, are developing significant new areas of male contraception, including artificial implants lodged beneath the skin that slowly release hormones which suppress sperm production, and a spermicide substance that prevents sperm ovulation without hormones. There is no indication whatsoever of an imminent breakthrough in the studies, but Dr. Gabriel Bally, chief of contraceptive development at the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) in Bethesda, Md., said that researchers working with a male contraceptive made from brain hormones are "beginning to see some light at the end of a dark tunnel."

Male contraceptive research has traditionally been a neglected area of investigation. Feminists contend that the male-dominated medical research establishment has been too eager to temper with women's bodies, rather than male reproductive systems. Responds Bally: "To say that is a total lie would be a lie." But the real reason that work with men has been slow is that scientists recognize that the male reproductive system is far more complex than that of the female. As a result, the expense and the rate of research is much higher. Declared Dr. Charles Palmer, a professor of physiology at the University of Manitoba: "When you try to control sperm production, you also interfere with desire—libido." As the female only a single egg cell must be fertilized each month. Male sperm contains roughly 50 million sperm cells per millilitre, and most researchers agree that an effective male contraceptive treatment would have to stop virtually all sperm production.

There are already several ways to accomplish sperm blockage, but the most effective ones now appear to involve the use of hormones—organic substances activated by cells that regulate body processes and control behaviour. One method uses injections of testosterone that act on the male pituitary gland at the base of the brain, which stimulates the testes to produce sperm. Still, that process, too, is defective because the pituitary also stimulates male hormone production in

the testes. As a result, researchers must repeat male hormone such as testosterone at the same time as the brain hormones to avoid such changes as breast enlargement and shrinkage of the testes.

Still, a more promising hormone formula of this kind is being developed by

Dr. Larry Boring, of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore, Md., and Dr. Bernard Bhaerle of McGill University in Montreal. Their method involves the implantation of a combination of the potent hormone estradiol, a type of estrogen, once considered to be an exclusively female hormone but now known to exist naturally in men and women—and the male hormone testosterone. After a dozen years of testing on rats, rabbits and rhesus monkeys, testosterone and estradiol, released slowly from implants under the skin, seem to be effective. Boring presented his animal data

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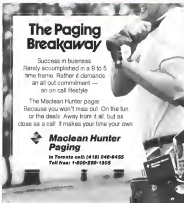
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in August to the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. His ultimate aim is to conduct research on humans. At the same time, Robaire is conferring animal experiments to check for birth defects. Said the physician: "We have data which I think is very clear, indicating absolutely no effect on [offspring born] after treatments stop."

For his part, University of Western Ontario endocrinologist John Wiebe is attempting to refine a mysterious chemical that he discovered accidentally two years ago while he was trying to induce puberty in rats. He refused to identify the chemical, which starts off sperm production in animals, but he said that it is a natural substance and not a hormone. He recently applied to the federal Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs for a patent and he intends to test the substance on monkeys. Wiebe claims that the chemical eliminates fertility in rats without changing mating habits. In fact, said Wiebe, "it does almost appear to be an aphrodisiac." As well, rats treated with only 80 to 180 micrograms of the substance injected into the testicles are still fertile after 22 weeks. According to Wiebe, an equivalent period in man would be 15 years, making the given equivalent to a "chemical vasectomy."

Dr. David Han, director of the Reproductive Biology Unit at Toronto's Mount Sinai Hospital, said that Chinese researchers are testing a cottonseed-oil extract called gossypol. The chemical appears to prevent sperm formation without using hormones, and the Chinese are conducting testing on monkeys. The World Health Organization considers a link between male contraception but it does not sanction clinical tests of gossypol. A spokesman for WHO in Geneva, Switzerland, said that about one per cent of test subjects develop liver blood poisoning, which can lead to nerve and muscle disorders.

Still, gossypol is a major focus of attention in a field in which breakthroughs are so rare that research is limited less by funding constraints than by a lack of projects that demand money. Says Robaire, "I've seen \$200,000 per year, and Bally said that H&M has only spent \$7 to \$8 million in the past five years. He added: "The moment something comes out of basic research, we chase after it. But when you do not have something coming out, you are stuck." As a result, most researchers doubt that a male contraceptive drug will be on the market before the 1990s. Says Robaire: "If we were to start tomorrow in clinical trials, it could not possibly take less than seven years, and most probably 11." At least until then, the "chemical berden" of birth control will continue to rest with women.

—DAVE SILBERT in Toronto



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THEATRE

The lady sings the blues

SHOWTIME

By Solomei Bey
Directed by Mabel Robinson

Solomei Bey is a legend after her time. Born half a century too late, she is a magnificent blues singer who could have branched black music with an individual style as idiosyncratic as Bessie Smith or Billie Holiday. But the evolution of American music—and of blacks in U.S. society—has relegated the blues and its exponents to historical roles. As a star like Bey can do is play the parts of others and sing the blues as if past were born only yesterday. Five years ago she wrote and starred in *Jasbo*, a compilation of hits by Holiday, Smith and Bessie Waters. *Showtime*, at Toronto's Basin Street Theatre, focuses solely on the multifaceted career of Waters, who became a national institution in the 1940s and 1950s.

Waters was one of the first female black singers to perform for white audiences, and the only one from her era to sustain a successful stage and film career as well. But her melodramatic life completely debuts Bey as a theatrist: although more than 40 songs, joined by narratives, by Bey, *Showtime* does not convey any coherent sense of Waters as a distinct personality. By trying to tell too much in too short a time, Bey's approach levels any emotional climax. She further reduces any glimpses of the singer's emotional roots by not including any of Waters' own songs. The pace is so hectic that even on

such classic showstoppers as *Am I That Bad*, *St. Louis Blues* and *Stormy Weather*, which Waters introduced, Bey rarely performs the entire song. When she does build up steam, as in *Down Hearted Blues*, the results are explosive.

What *Showtime* lacks in narrative and insight it makes up for in soaring physicality under Mabel Robinson's tight direction and choreography. In later life Waters never let her already diminutive her raw sex appeal. As her song proudly puts it, "The more the jelly, the sweeter she melt," and they recreate her smoldering, simple presence with infinite vitality and exactness. The riveting Billy Newton-Davis, who not only rivals Fred Astaire as a dancer but is a better actor, is outstanding. Renee Phillips matches him in suppleness and ferocity of attack, quickly recovering from the impossible opening number—a dance portrait of Waters' father raging her mother—she floods the stage with enough swelling energy to make chorus lines obsolete.

Showtime's visual feast is equalled only by the mammoth ingenuity of costume designer Antonio Miral, and lighting designer Timothy Crick's rainbow palette is truly extraordinary. As an artist Bey is clearly seeking a new form to define her abundant talent. But, because of the limitations that the contemporary era has placed on the blues, that will not be easy. Meanwhile, nobody will object if she just keeps on showbopping.

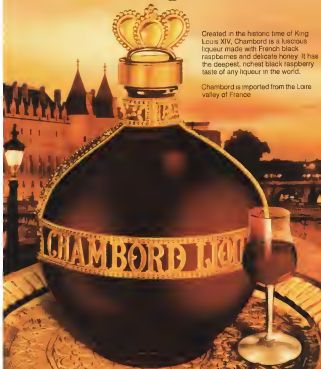
—MARK CHARNICK

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HEALTH

Learning to tackle panic

A panic attack is a psychological disorder that strikes without warning and can escalate into terror and hysteria. Panic may originate from such common fears as heights or open spaces—or it may have no discernible cause. Its victims, who experience pounding hearts and shortness of breath, often believe that they are having heart attacks. Said Toronto psychiatrist Klaus Koch, an expert in fears and phobias, "In an overwhelming attack, there is terror. The people feel like they are about to die." To help the thousands of victims of panic, Koch and psychiatrist Richard Benson opened the Anxiety Disorders Clinic at Toronto General Hospital last March, one of Canada's first centres specializing in the treatment of panic. "Panic disorders are a new concept," explained Koch. "This project is a collaborative study of anxiety disorders with hospitals in North America and Europe."

Statistics indicate that more than 130,000 Canadians suffer from agoraphobia, fear of open spaces. In extreme cases it can paralyze its victims while they are out shopping or working. Koch said that most victims learn to hide their terror, which in turn causes them to eventually withdraw from the world and remain indoors to avoid severe anxiety. Added Koch: "After a repeated series of panic attacks, it is typical for the person to live with a sense of apprehension, and this affects their outlook."

Koch said that to reduce the anxiety many patients medicate themselves with anything from herbal teas to drug-like liquor. Part of the treatment at the clinic, which treats 10 new patients a month, includes teaching the sufferer to shed the psychological crutches. If a victim suffers from anxiety while in a movie theatre, he can call the clinic and doctors will dispatch trained volunteer researchers to help the victim by accompanying him back into the auditorium for progressively longer periods of time until the attacks subside. Other victims with low panic thresholds need drugs to help them raise that level so they can receive the necessary therapy. Toronto's Anxiety Disorders Clinic is also conducting new research in the field, including studies of chemical imbalances in the body, to explain panic that Koch says can "strike like lightning."

—MARGARET CANNON in Toronto

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Doing business the West Coast way

By Jane O'Hara

Ten years ago Larra Armstrong quit his job as a systems engineer at IBM in Toronto and moved back to Vancouver. For Armstrong, his business move had a mystical appeal, with its emphasis on sports and recreation, it was a place to "behave some back on." Still, the move out of Toronto's corporate fast lane to the gentle Lotus Land came in a shock. Said Armstrong: "When I arrived in Vancouver, it seemed like the world had come to a grinding halt." Armstrong, who is 38, is now director of personnel for the British Columbia Society giant MacMillan Bloedel, admits that there are differences between business practices in the West and East. But just what these differences are and whether they contribute to better or worse management are contentious that spark as much regional debate as football in the Grey Cup zone. Does West Coast business suffer because it attracts employees who would rather climb mountains than the corporate ladder? Said Peter Brown, the Vancouver president of Vancouver's Canam Investments Corp.: "That's a pile of porridge."

To eastern eyes, Brown is a quintessential West Coast businessman. He is feisty—he boasts about owning 70 pairs of Gator loafers and his fondness for jeeps, which once led him to suffer six triple hernias as he drank 16 in a single day. He is also an identifiable risk taker. His venture capital company is one of the largest of the Vancouver Stock Exchange, underwriting only high-risk, speculative stocks. Brown got his first formal business training in Toronto when he went to work for the investment company Greenshield Inc. His motivation was perfectly straightforward—"I took the job because it was a free trip east," he said.

Still, Brown admits that the eastern experience did him as much good as a Harvard MBA when he returned to Vancouver. Brown maintains, however, that West Coast businessmen are just as hardworking and ambitious as their eastern counterparts and he dismisses the notion that all West Coast deals are made on the back nine or on private

yachts. Said Brown: "The businessmen I know get up early and work late."

There may be no difference in the content, but the style of business differs between East and West. Partly it is because Vancouver is a branch plant of eastern head offices, where most of the major policy decision-making goes on.



Armstrong and all deals are made on the private yacht.

"There isn't the same amount of pressure or frenetic pace here," said Vance Mitchell, who lectures in organizational behavior at the University of British Columbia. "People take a little more time to think about things." On the other hand, there are advantages to being 6,000 km and three time zones away from the head office in Toronto and Montreal. Commented David Sherwin, a director of Western Management Consultants: "Often people in head of-

fices get caught up in office politics and do not really accomplish very much. It is called the head-office industry, which is an industry all its own."

According to many West Coast businessmen, easterners are consequently far more cautious and conservative when it comes to doing business. Said Jim Pattison, a legendary Vancouver entrepreneur who purchased a used-car business into a private equity, comprising several companies with sales of more than \$800 million annually: "People in the East tend to be more formal, but here there is more of a pioneer spirit. In the East they may do their homework better, but in Vancouver we certainly have a lot more fun than people I see in Toronto."

Pattison himself is a workaholic, often putting in a 50-hour workday. But he does have one West Coast business tool most eastern executives only dream about: a personal yacht, which he uses to entertain clients. Earlier this year Pattison donated his 77-foot yacht to the Red Cross. Now he is having an 85-footer built at a cost of close to \$1 million. Said Pattison: "Although most of the real business is done in the office, a boat allows you to get to know people."

For now, however, fewer eastern businessmen are getting the chance to experience the relaxed West Coast ways. For one thing, recruitment-minded eastern companies are avoiding transferring employees from East to West. Rather, eastern-based firms with western operations are dipping into the local talent pool to fill positions. "It is the easier and less expensive to hire someone locally than import someone," said Alan Reuber of Peat Marwick and Partners, a Canada-wide management consultant firm. Besides,

over those employees who are transferred west and become addicted to the Vancouver lifestyle after working for several months, or even years, rarely balk any more at the eventual call to return east. Again, the reason is the economy. With the job market so tight in a patch of nearly bankrupt cities, the prospect of personal fortune or mere job security, even in Toronto or Montreal, is too much to resist.

With Oliver Lockhart in Vancouver



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TELEVISION

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BACKSTREET
CBC, Dec. 4, 6, 13 and 22

Backstreet pulses with the vitality of life in Ontario's backwaters. Full of old-fashioned pleasures and daily sorrows, it is a bracing breath of frisky air in comparison to television's current preoccupations with money and glamour. The four-part series takes place in fictional Strick, Ont., a speck of a town where a small-time race track serves as the centre of cultural activity. Its inhabitants shuffle from the beverage room to the track with the abandon of those who can have fun without much money. That happy routine breaks down when the race track's owner (Frank Adreonian) learns that he is dying of cancer, refuses to tell his wife and kills himself with a rifle. The hard task of raising the faltering track and doing justice to his memory falls to his widow.

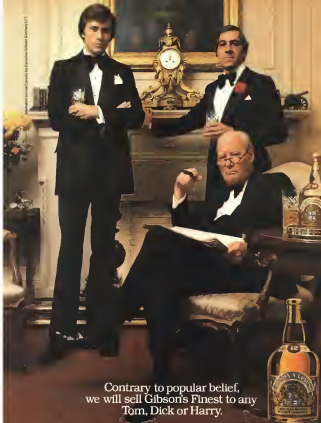
Patience Patterson, a veteran actress from Newfoundland, tucks into the role with warm and wonderful passion like a sisterly delight. Recall Shirley Booth's Oscar-winning turn as Lola Delaney in *Come Back Little Sheba*. As Marge Aylesworth, Patterson dispenses the kind of outpour emotion scene that fancy money cannot buy. Early in the drama, a message tries to rob the race track's till, and she stalks out with a rifle. She asks him his name and he definitely replies, "Why should I tell you my name?" She answers, "Because I got this, and it's loaded." That is the sort of crack Barbara Stanwyck pioneered, but

Patterson loquaciously delivers it and several others. And as a second her face can transform itself into a tragic mask. Her superb acting elevates a well-worn, entertaining show into an event.

Marge has two allies at the almost domestic track (the jockey Ray Foley [Peter MacNeill]). About 30 years her junior, he still finds Marge attractive enough to sleep with her. The other is a loquacious teenager, Roney (Dorothy Penick), whom she knows as a groom instead of reporting to the police. Penick resembles a teen, fresh Warren Beatty, bringing an important touch to the part of a scrappy troublemaker. Others, inevitably, are not to get Aylesworth, principally her scheming business manager (Peter Millard). And a fly named Bright Morning provides an admirable cameo performance. The animal suffers from a case of something called "swamp fever," and Roney carries the horse back to health, ensuring the future of the Strick Raceway.

Backstreet is a welcome surprise. Like many CBC productions, it shows that intrigues and tensions occur not only on Texas and Colorado estates where designer clothes and haughty manners are the norm, but also in the cramped living rooms and cluttered offices of those who are "just getting by." The restoration of good drama to the locales and conditions of conventional life turns the series into a feast as satisfying as a strip, hot bag of tea and a plateful of home-made butter tarts.

—BILL MACNEILL



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FOR THE RECORD

Songs from survivors

From the announcement of Elvis Presley's entrance into the US Army in 1958 to the emergence of "corporate rock" in the late 1970s, reports of rock 'n' roll's death have been greatly exaggerated. As surviving rock stars from the postwar 1960s grow older, fans feared that the music would die or at least lose the relevance it once had for their generation. Now middle age has caught up with such

1960s heroes as Paul McCartney, Bob Dylan, Paul Simon and The Rolling Stones. But their new albums prove that, with the exception of McCartney, they are making music that is still vibrant and meaningful—enough to make even their children dance.

One of the most articulate songwriters to emerge from the 1960s, Paul Simon has won millions of listeners with clever, introspective lyrics and adventurous, eclectic music. With *North and South* (RCA), the 40-year-old Simon continues to offer an intelligent, urbane and quotable. In a reversal of his tongue-in-cheek ode to 1970s relationships in *Pipe of Peace* (CBS), the 40-year-old Simon continues to offer an intelligent, urbane and quotable. In a reversal of his tongue-in-cheek ode to 1970s relationships in *Pipe of Peace* (CBS), the 40-year-old Simon continues to offer an intelligent, urbane and quotable. In a reversal of his tongue-in-cheek ode to 1970s relationships in *Pipe of Peace* (CBS), the 40-year-old Simon continues to offer an intelligent, urbane and quotable.



Dylan: still making music that is vibrant and meaningful

On *Pipe of Peace* (CBS), all of his worst enemies are evident: more poems to market him, more mainstream styles and even a children's choir. At 41, McCartney should know better than to create such vacant tunes as "I need like a doctor's help."

In contrast to McCartney's complacency, Mick Jagger and The Rolling Stones have rarely sounded as excited or disturbed as on the dark and aggressive *Undercover* (Wax). The new album marks a return to the raucous rock sound of their early days. Themes of political terror, urban violence and paranoia dominate the 10 tunes. The most explicit is the appropriately titled *Too Much Blood*, a true-life tale about a

When asked several years ago about the rock generation, Simon called it "prolonged adolescence" and added "Some people make it through. Dylan, McCartney, the Stones. But a lot of others don't." Paul McCartney's survival besides came to the longevity of his Beatles reputation and his boyish good looks then to the musical fashions that he has dished out over the past decade.

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Paris killer who mutilated and then ate his girlfriend after staring her in the mirror. "Feel the tension in the air, there's too much blood," *Jagger* sings menacingly as horns blare suggestively like screams and shrieks.

That preoccupation with violence pervades the album. *Too Tough to Tame* opens with feverishly fast, maniacally guttural, the guttural warbles of a kitchen knife and the line "On the end you spit me out/You could not chew me up." On *Undercover of the Night*, *Jagger* warns of the danger in the street and of those lost in South America (a la Keith Richards) "mean poster miss assaults the sensibilities and lodes out, only to roar back again. The political nightmares continue in *It Must Be Hell*. Against major-chord guitar work, *Jagger* evokes unemployment and idleness as crime reminders that "the strength of darkness still abides." At times, the Stones fail to overcome their irritating macho stance in the endemically ironic pose of *The Fun Up (The Pass of Love)* and the freekies *All the Way Down*. Still, after 20 years and more than 50 albums, the band has regained its raw, untamed edge.

After his detour into born-again, Bible-thumping rock, Bob Dylan has also returned with his strongest album in years. With musical backing from Dave Strath's guitarist Mark Knopfler, on-falling Stones Mick Taylor and the stellar rhythm team of Sly Dunbar and Robbie Shakespeare, *Infidel* (J&R) deals with the topical subjects of dishonest political leaders and the decline of empires, as well as personal insights about life at 42. On *Men of Peace*, he draws a damning picture of modern rulers: "Could be the Pillars/Could be the local priests/Sometimes Satan calls himself the man of peace."

Two of the loudest rock members on *Infidel* also carry powerful messages. The moosey *Neighborhood Bully* features an exchange between Knopfler and Taylor of punishing guitar riffs as Dylan cuts score on an unnamed chauvinist who should be "sentenced and condemned for being alive." On *Union Square*, Dylan expresses his belongings and finds that everything is made anywhere but in the "U.S.A." Free enterprise, he concludes, "wasn't a good idea/Went great got in the way."

Personal and sometimes spiritual reflection informs the remainder of the songs. Particularly evocative of early Dylan is the harmonica and nasal vocal of the tender *Don't Fall Apart on Me Tonight*. On that song, he postulates that "Yesterday's just a memory/And tomorrow's never what it's supposed to be." What makes Dylan's latest offering such a pleasure is how easily it captures the best of both times.

—MICHAEL ZELEVANS

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BOOKS

Accounting for a big-time spender

OTHER PEOPLE'S MONEY: THE BANKS, THE GOVERNMENT AND DOME

By Peter Foster
(Calgary, 290 pages, \$25.95)

DOME: THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HOUSE THAT JACK BUILT
By Jim Lyon
(Montreal, 327 pages, \$13.95)

Dome Petroleum was perhaps the wealthiest acquirer in Canadian corporate history. Encouraged by an ignorant federal government and incredibly reckless bankers, Dome began a wild corporate spending spree in 1976. When the party ended in 1982, the delinquent company was on the verge of becoming the greatest disaster in the history of private enterprise. The federal government and the banks had to give it special aid to avert a bankruptcy that could have undermined confidence in Canada's entire financial system. In business history, Dome will live as a case study in uncontrolled entrepreneurship, two recent, good books on the company are only the first of several post-mortems likely to appear. Journalists Jim Lyon and Peter Foster have written inside histories of Dome that will leave many readers wondering why securities regulators are not also investigating the episode as a case study of corporate irresponsibility.

The soaring oil prices of the 1970s enabled Jack Gallagher and Bill Richards, the duo that ran Dome, to finance their expansion and corporate takeovers. As well, the need to free Canada from bondage to OPEC seemed to justify massive exploration on Canada's inhospitable northern frontiers. Battering these premises, the government of Canada created national energy policies that massively subsidized Dome's Bonaventure exploration. These policies encouraged the company's fantasy that it could afford almost any amount of debt incurred in buying up other oil companies. Throughout its history, Dome had a knack of exploiting every legal and tax advantage that Ottawa created. That habit of making bureaucrats look silly eventually left the company relatively friendless in high places.

Lyon and Foster show that the Dome men were less impressed by their dreams andambitions to produce the sudden drop in oil prices in 1982. But both books suggest that someone else could have averted Dome's borrowing and buying spree. As Foster made clear in his previous book, *The Surrender's Agreement*, the blindly nationalistic government of Canada was too busy cheerleading for the National Energy Program to realize that the only people profiting from it were foreigners.

more to say about Dome's northern exploration activities, while Foster focuses on the crisis of 1982. For a blow-by-blow history of those incredible events, Foster is a better source than Lyon.

In Foster's account, the Dome focus resembles a business story from the free-wheeling 1920s, not the supposedly regulated capitalism of modern times. According to Foster, Richards, the company's president, never told a graduate of McGill University, which was about to lend Dome \$15 billion, that the Canadian banks had severely tightened the terms of their major loans to Dome. Neither did anyone else. As a result, giant Citicorp of New York, a winner of what Foster calls a "night of hand," now believes it was "kidded" by the Canadian. Dome Canada, the company that Dome Petroleum created to take advantage of northern provisions of the 1980, was "virtually pilfered," Foster says. "In Dome's increasingly desperate attempts to survive," he writes. "Leading Canadian bankers, he adds, made public claims during the Dome crisis which they privately admitted were not true."

Foster discusses Dome's grandiose Bonaventure plan as "an almost surrealistic vision." But Lyon is not as harsh on the northern enterprise. He is apparently a kind of convert to Gallagher's northern vision. Still, he finds that Canada's banking elite behaved with "incredible recklessness" and "excessive indulgence" in its treatment of Dome. "The weaknesses of Dome's architects," Lyon concludes, "can be explained in a single word: greed."

The affair has not ended. The financial disaster forced Gallagher and Richards out of Dome, but the situation remains, as Foster puts it, "a strange kind of limbo." Dome is taking huge losses as it sells assets on depressed markets. It is dependent on the banks' continuing goodwill in extending the term of their loans. It is scrambling to find refinancing that will enable it to avoid the bank bail-out conditions of the 1982 recovery plan. And bankers are angry with themselves and with each other for Dome's damage to their international reputations.

Both books, especially Foster's, are essential reading for all directors of oil, gas, and minerals. Politicians, securities regulators and members of the business media should study the volume particularly closely. And they should well ponder their responsibility in having helped a delinquent Dome develop.

—MICHAEL BLAIR



Gallagher: a corporate spending agent.

Worse, Canada's leading bankers were giving to have been business savants than consumers expert from corporate. Instead of cutting back on their loans to Dome, four of Canada's Big Five chartered banks (the Bank of Nova Scotia staged not obligingly lent Dome more hundreds of millions to finance its 1980 takeover of Hudson's Bay Oil and Gas, a \$4-billion deal that finally brought down the house of cards).

Lyon and Foster's versions of the story are broadly similar. Lyon's more sympathetic and less detailed book has

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Curiosity that outgrew Marxism

READING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT

By R.S. Ferra
(University of Toronto Press,
374 pages, \$25.95)

The life of the scholar is sometimes cloistered and dull. But in the 1930s many Westerners became enchanted with Marxism, a doctrine that gripped them intellectually and offered the satisfaction of passionate political commitment. One Canadian who often followed its line outside his study was Henry S. Ferra, now professor emeritus of political science and honorary fellow in Canadian studies at the University of Birmingham in England. As Ferra sailed to Britain to study at Cambridge in 1938, a fellow passenger persuaded him of the merits of the left. Cambridge was a centre of Marxist enthusiasm, and Ferra was soon working to a student organizer for the Communist Party. His engrossing autobiography charts his gradual estrangement from Marxist thought and serious old scores along the way.

Still, Ferra was once a fervent proponent of the U.S.S.R., nor did anyone ever approach him to act as a spy. His Marxism was fuelled mainly by an idealistic anti-imperialism, and when the young graduate joined Prime Minister Mackenzie King's secretariat staff during the Second World War he was not a security risk. But after Ferra had spent four tedious years writing briefing papers that he felt nobody read, a senior bureaucrat told him that he was a "Red." In 1946 the ghost of his youthful Marxism rose over again to deny him a much-needed teaching position at the Canadian Reform College on Royal Roads, B.C. Deeply embittered, he moved his family back to England, where he has lived ever since.

Ferra's outrage at that rejection forms the emotional core of *Striding from Left to Right*. He sketches the book with brief, brilliant character sketches. Many of those vignettes corroborate Ferra's assertion that, in government, it is often the unprincipled backer who flourishes, while talented and dedicated men, such as his socialist friend Herbert Morrison, become victims. The accusations of U.S. McCarthyism drove Norman, a gifted scholar and diplomat, to commit suicide in 1967. Ferra argues vehemently that Norman was not a Soviet spy. Although he offers no new information in his defense, Ferra does point out that Norman was not the type of person that the Soviets were likely to recruit.

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echoes Fenn's belief that a decline in the art of politics in favor of belligerence and confrontation has placed the world in terrible jeopardy. Indeed, one of the principal reasons for his gradual abandonment of Marxism was his discovery of its lack of political sophistication. Over the years he discovered that Blokhin and Kossakov had made more penetrating analyses of human nature than Marx, and that the authors of the U.S. constitution had more respect for human freedom. That does not mean Fenn has become a right-wing Reaganite. He still describes recent U.S. government leaders as "political snakeheads."

Reading *From Left to Right* leaves a final impression of a life of extraordinary energy and diversity. Whether as a novelist, his brief, sharp-edged as a publisher of the *Wesleyan Observer* newspaper or reminiscing about MacKenzie King, Fenn writes with an enthusiastic curiosity. His mind is perhaps more wide-ranging than deep, and, although his style is well-suited to literary history, he knows how to enliven or exalt a subject with a few well-chosen words. Canadians who read his autobiography will regret that a man of such intellectual gusto felt compelled to make his living elsewhere.

—JOAN KOSKOVICH

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A mystery writer's mystery

DAPHNE HAMMETT: A LIFE

By Thomas Johnson
(Random House, \$16 pages, \$22.95)

Near the beginning of her richly textured and thoughtful biography of Daphne Hammett, Thomas Johnson neatly sums up the editorial life of the man who created *San Diego* and the *Thin Man*. She writes, "At each decade of his life, he did the American thing—went West before World War I when young men went West, joined the army, went West again to San Francisco during the 1890s and the glamorous 1880s, when Hollywood was at its peak, to war again in the 1940s, and in the 1950s, during the witch-hunts, to jail." She then proceeds to put flesh on that barebones chronology. Johnson, a novelist and editor from Berkeley, Calif., is the first outsider to have the cooperation of Lillian Hellman, Hammett's literary executor and longtime love, but the task was still difficult. Hammett was not only a landmark mystery writer, he was also a genuinely mysterious man. Johnson's comprehensive research and novelistic techniques go a long way toward unravelling that mystery.



Hammett circa 1940s: a real allegory

Hammett had to contend with many ghosts, and his anxiety about his past partly explains his decline in mid-life. When he was a 25-year-old agent with the Pinkerton detective agency in 1917, he may or may not have helped, indirectly or otherwise, in the lynching of a Mexican radical. Johnson reports only that the Pinkertons committed the crime and that Hammett was there at the time. Later he moved up to the firm's office in San Francisco, the city with which most people associate him. "He loved it," writes Johnson, "loved the bars and the docks, and the fights and the races, the beauty." When he quit to become a pulp writer in 1925, the city and his memories of his old cases sustained him.

At first, Hammett had what Johnson calls "the artist's indignation at the world's indifference" and "best out stories and poems like notes in bottles, from the literary desert island of San Francisco." By the late 1930s he had become a great commercial success in a world ready for such realistic works as *Red Harvest*, *The Glass Key* and *The Maltese Falcon*. He made a fortune which he gave away to friends and fellow drinkers. Ironically, he became a renegade from everything the Pinkertons had stood for. After *The Thin Man* in 1935, he dried up as a writer,



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although he lived until 1981.

Johnson devoted more than half the book to that creative failure. She concludes that Hammett was psychologically incapable of writing about his present and had used up all the valuable material from his direct experience. Money was another factor, Hammett stopped writing well after he made enough, although his desire to write continued. His physical ailments—from periodic renal disease through tuberculosis to his chronic alcoholism—contributed to the sense of failure which in turn only perpetuated the problems.

The pattern had already established itself when, in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the government persecuted him and sent him to prison. Hammett's appearance in front of House Un-American Activities Committee, writes Johnson, "might have been a wedding or a birthday." Indeed, it might have been a lynching like those in Montana. Hammett was among the witnesses who refused to state whether or not they had been Communists. Later, the Federal Court judge sent them to jail. Hammett had been a member of an apparently Marxist organization in 1930s Hollywood. That was a time and a place, says Johnson, when "half-talking characters own diseased politics and people breed up on big words." He was a sort of nightclub radical.

The story is familiar from many books and films about the period. Johnson excels by bringing her skill as a novelist into play. The book's structure makes extensive use of many techniques currently fashionable in fiction, including a postmodernist love of episode, flashback and playing with context. At points she suddenly rewrites the narrative, replacing it with taped interviews, advertising copy that young Hammett composed, incoming and outgoing personal and business letters, hotel transcripts and, most telling of all, documents from his FBI file that the U.S. Freedom of Information Act has made available.

The novelized structure has the effect of heightening the reality, the way Hammett himself might have used it in detective fiction. By putting a new plan on the story of his life, Johnson has given it a new dimension. Previously, Hammett was best known to the general public as the man who wrote *The Maltese Falcon*. Now he seems a man and a mystery for what becomes of people with more talent than strength of character in a society that makes it too easy for them to be swayed from their minds. Hammett: A Life is something Hammett himself would have enjoyed a moral story in an unusual form, a literary tale in spite of itself.

—DOUG FETTERLEIGH

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A journal of forgiveness

AN INTERRUPTED LIFE: THE DIARIES OF RITY HILLESUM, 1941-1943
By Rity Hillesum
(London & Ocean Group)
226 pages, \$16.95

During the grim days when young Anne Frank, hiding in an attic, requested to paper her nightmares about why people were not to kill her, another diary took form. *An Interrupted Life: The Diaries of Rity Hillesum, 1941-1943*, brings to life the same city, Amsterdam, and the same terror of the Nazi occupation. Hillesum's journal, which she survived to a friend who later passed it on to Dutch writer Kees Smelt after the war, was edited by Dutch publisher Ana Garbando. It has become a runaway best seller in Europe and will be published in Canada later this month. The diaries differ from those of the hidden girl Anne Frank. Hillesum's thoughts come from a woman who knows full well what is happening but who tries as long as she can to overcome the fatal truth through pleasure of the flesh. Ultimately she cannot avoid the larger issues of life and death, and her ever-growing racial awareness makes the journal worth reading.

Unlike the young Anne Frank coping with the first stirrings of adolescent love, Rity Hillesum was a 25-year-old Jewish woman with a banking diploma and a string of suitors, for which she offers an apologetic. But a spiritual dimension emerges in her as well. The horror of genocide drives into reality death squads sweep into streets where Jews automatically die out their livelihoods. As the occupying army courts sweep people Hillesum knows both mutually and intimately to death camps, her mind turns unrelentingly to sustaining thoughts of tradition, community, kinship and the meaning of Jewry. With a calm, unobtrusive tenderness on the sandy, she feels as if for the German, telling herself that it is racism, an irreversible side effect of war, in killing her people but that she will have no part of it. Hillesum wrote, "I had a liberating thought which sustained me as like a beam, tender young blade of grass

thriving its way through a wilderness of weeds. If there were only any decent Germans, then he would be cherished despite that whole barbaric gang, and because of that one decent German it is wrong to pour hatred over an entire people." Such passages take the book out of the realm of diary and assume the authority of high philosophy, even theology.

The day-book of a young woman whose writings serve her as a support system are heartbreakingly unassuming. A female literary note too frequently shows its glittery, jagged edge. At times



Hillesum: a calm resignation in the face of nastiness

self-conscious almost to the point of self-parody. *An Interrupted Life* studies the small of midnight. All the author constantly confronts herself with the trauma of filling a blank ruled page, in the relationship manner of *Handwritten Notes from Rite and Dostoevsky* abound. And this time remains so consistent that the pages do not read like the tentative, confused thoughts of Frank but like the studied confessions of the diaries of Anne Frank. Sexual rhapsodies push from her pen, and her role takes on mystical significance.

Rity Hillesum perished in the earthly hell of Auschwitz in 1943, and her final letters are the consummation of the veil. Despite its sometimes faltering rhetoric and yearning for greatness, *An Interrupted Life* remains a moving poignant testament to a woman who lived a forgiving life while not surrounded by.

—BILL MACVICKA

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Lean is hard, piercing look at the reconstruction of postwar Vietnam

The fine art of propaganda

BOAT PEOPLE

Directed by Ann Hui

All political movies are propaganda, in which the end is usually more important than the means. But such means involve in *Boat People* and Ann Hui's *Root People* raise propaganda to the level of art, in exposing corruption of various kinds, they also explore one's soul. They reveal what is valuable about living and so force their audience to feel an overpowering sense of loss when that value is needlessly destroyed. A harsh, harrowing look at the reconstruction of Vietnam after the war, *Root People* is almost unbearable in its impact, with extremely visceral scenes that will leave healthy stomachs unsettled.

Root People dramatizes political events as a poignant, private love, or in doing so it builds to a gripping, overwhelming climax. Wisely, director Hui and her screenwriter, K.C. Chu, have placed an objective observer within the action, a Japanese photographer (played by the actor Lam) without a vested interest in the fate of the war-torn country. A guest of the government, he sees only the facade—clean children singing the praises of Ho Chi Minh and the "New Economic Zones" where all seem prosperous. When he happens upon a civil servant, a soldier loses his camera. The photographer discovers the covert misery and poverty

when he befriends a spunky girl named Cien Nung (Susan Wu) whose family subsists on noodles and salt water and whose mother has turned to prostitution in desperate need. At first, Cien Nung distrusts him, but when he wins her over she is the key that unlocks the horrors of the new "rehabilitated" state. When she and her little brother break into a spirit following the sound of gunshots, he accompanies them to what the children glibly call the "shooting range" and looks on, shocked, while they frays among freshly recruited bodies.

Root People is indelibly rich in detail, evocating long after its final credits roll. There is a touching subplot involving a madame (Cora Miao) who is trying to get a place for her boyfriend (Andy Lau) on a boat out of the country. They hope to meet someday in New Orleans and open a bar there. But he is sent back to one of the economic zones, where, in the film's most grueling series of scenes, the prisoners must dig for land mines. The Vietnamese became *Root People* because they were without hope, refugees from service and the impossibility of living even a possible existence. Like the one where Mark Mabe played in *Order Five*, the photographer is finally so appalled that he can no longer take pictures. The special achievement of Hui's film is to make its characters breathe with inner life and its suffering even deeper. —L.UT

OBITUARY

The father of the CBC

In 1919 a 10-year-old boy from St. Thomas, Ont., listened with fascination to the story of how the Royal Canadian Mounted Police captured the infamous English wife killer Dr. Hawley Harveyrippen after English authorities had misled Canadian police that Grappen had fled England aboard a Canadian Pacific steamer. That tale was Graham Spry's introduction to the power of radio and the first indication of his destiny. When Spry died of an apparent heart attack in his Ottawa home last week at the age of 80, tributes from across Canada hailed him as the father of public radio broadcasting. Spry never held a job within the broadcasting industry. Still, he was always one of Canadian broadcasting's staunchest supporters. In 1950, worried that the booming U.S. radio industry would engulf its fledgling Canadian counterpart, Spry organized the Canadian Radio League, a group of people interested in promoting a national radio network. For the next several years, the league lobbied the federal government to create a public broadcasting system. And in 1958 Parliament passed an act establishing the CBC.

Before taking up the battle for national radio, Spry had completed his studies as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford, served as a private with the Canadian Field Artillery in the First World War and worked as a newspaper reporter. In 1920 he was one of the founding members of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation. Tainted by the socialist political connections, Spry found it difficult to secure a job in Canada and eventually accepted an executive position with Standard Oil in London, England. During the Second World War, Spry served in India as personal assistant to Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal in Winston Churchill's cabinet, and from 1946 to 1948 he was Agent-General for Saskatchewan in the United Kingdom.

Spry won the John Dineen Award in 1972 for his distinguished contribution to broadcasting and became a Companion of the Order of Canada in 1975. And he never forgave his parents for broadcasting that Frank Porter, author of *The Politics of Canadian Broadcasting* and a longtime friend of Spry's. "He will be missed for his unshaking enthusiasm and his vision. Graham Spry was a truly great Canadian." —BARBARA MCKAY



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Ducking an explosive press issue

By Allan Fotheringham

The two best examples of the oily Old Boys' club that daffs and loafs off our society are the House of Commons and the banks. The best example we have had in a long time of the way they operate is in the Bryce Mackinay case. It is essentially protect your own, cover your ass, the ball with the public and scratch each other's back. It is hard to justify who was the most responsible in this disgusting episode, the Big-Shouldered MPs or the astute, three-piece world of banking. It is easy to understand why the public has every right to be cynical about both.

Members of the Commons' privileges and elections committee granted erroneously and came forth with an opinion that the Montreal Gazette damaged the Liberal MP's reputation and the privileges of the Commons by reporting allegations that Mackinay was a paid lobbyist. What a load of codswallop! What a terrible indictment of the sleazy practices of the Bank of Montreal—which the committee failed to question in its embarrassingly short report. The question remains: why couldn't we

nor, 109608 Canada Ltd. The loan was guaranteed by Les Ateliers d'Ornages Bill Loh, a Montreal machine tooling firm. The Gazette reported that Robert Harrison, an associate who was president of the Montreal Board of Trade, told a bankruptcy court, under oath, that Mackinay was acting as a paid lobbyist for Les Ateliers. It's known that Les Ateliers was paying roughly \$7,500 a month to 109608—which was about the monthly payments on the loan. Harrison said Mackinay owed 109608. It's known that on Oct. 27, 1981, Mackinay wrote to his fellow Liberal, Supply and

treal clear to threat and suggest naughty naughty? Never. Mr. Mackinay is known throughout politics and journalism for the passionate pleading he can do on his own behalf. The public relations consultant to Bank of Montreal President R.E. Macdonald is Don O'Brien, a former Lester Pearson and Pierre Trudeau press secretary who is known for his loyalty to old friends.

Mackinay, as late as we are, was some six months in arrears on his repayments. One strong blow was when the bank recommended that it go after his house, his pension, his salary—as the loving, kind Bank of Montreal would do to me and this. Intimidated? A vice-president was put in charge of the delicate situation.

The whole thing defies logic. Why would 109608 (or a guarantee from Les Ateliers) pay \$400,000 for stock portfolio if it was worth less than half that? The Gazette told bank the story for six days, after working on it for three weeks, to give Mackinay and Harrison a chance to explain their side of the affair. They declined. Mackinay has never used The Gazette, relying instead on the belief that the cheery club of six would come down on his side. He did not miscalculate. The 10-member committee, after wrestling for seven months with its "investigation," came out with a tortuous and vague one-handed-on-the-other-hand report that was written up, admitted they were Chuck Cook, "by extension as much as anything." Only the MP's Rod Murphy perceived The Gazette's rights and defended the newspaper's conduct.

Faced with the public right to know, the MPs decided to protect their own first. When in doubt, kill the messenger. The Gazette had reported some respectable circumstances, so the conclusion is to announce pompously that the newspaper had "adversely affected" the privileges of the House of Commons with its series of articles. It did so nothing. All The Gazette did was to confirm in the minds of the Great Unwashed something always suspected: that when confronted with a choice, the Old Boys' club—in politics or in banking—will always take care of the Old Boys.



Services Minister Jean-Jacques Blais, on behalf of Les Ateliers, which was seeking federal contracts. On Nov. 27, 1981, the \$400,000 was deposited into Mr. Mackinay's account.

Here, clearly, was an MP with serious money problems. The official court record, tape-recorded, has a man, who after all had been president of the Montreal Board of Trade, testify that the MP was a paid lobbyist—which happens to be a criminal offense in Canada. That's what The Gazette reported. That's what a good newspaper is supposed to do: tell the public what is said under oath about public servants (just as it reported that formal charges against Mackinay were thrown out in a preliminary hearing).

And how did Mr. Mackinay pay back the \$400,000 to the Bank of Montreal, which came out of this affair looking very grumpy? Mr. Harrison gave him a cheque for \$400,000 for his faded stock portfolio, which by that time was worth some \$135,000. Did the Bank of Mon-

and then, when we took into the local branch of the Bank of Montreal, got the least favourable treatment that was granted to Mackinay, an MP, a former chairman of Air Canada, a former cabinet minister who has been lobbying for some time to get back into the Trudeau cabinet and just might possibly be in on future banking legislation.

The story has been percolated to death in the newspapers. The Gazette (which has been open to the very thing it was investigating something far bigger) feared that by the autumn of 1981, Bryce Mackinay had run up some \$625,000 in debts, presumably he had stock investments. Mackinay, an ex of a roadhouse, has never had any real money of his own. His chances of returning to the cabinet, appearing after, apparently gambled on a stock market that subsequently fell to pieces. The friendly Bank of Montreal, The Gazette discovered, loaned \$400,000 in a numbered compensation. Fotheringham is a columnist for Southern News.

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